

Hyperides' Funeral Oration. 3 versions, & Greek



Col. 3.

[πε]πραγμένον. *Ἄξιον δ' ἐ-
[σ]τὶν ἐπαινεῖν τὴν μὲν
[πύλ]ιν ἡμῶν τῆς προαιρέ-
[σεως] ἐνεκεν τῷ προε-
5 [λέσ]θαι ὁμοία καὶ ἐτι σε-
[μύ]τερα καὶ καλλίω (τῶ)ν
[πρό]τερον αὐτῇ πεπρα-
[γμέ]νων, τοὺς δὲ τετε-
[λευ]τηκότας τῆς ἀνδρεί-
10 [α]ς τῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
τῷ μὴ κατασχῶναι τὰς
τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς,
τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Λεωσ-
θένη δι' ἀμφοτέρω τῆς
15 τε γὰρ προαιρέσεως εἰς-
ηγητῆς τῇ πόλει ἐγένε-
το, καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἡ-
γεμῶν τοῖς πολίταις
κατέστη. *Περὶ μὲν οὖν
20 [τ]ῆς πόλεως διεξιέναι
[τ]ῆς καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πρό-
[τε]ρον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλά-
[δα] οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρ-
[ώ]ν ἱκανὸς οὔτε ὁ και-
25 [ρός] ἀρμόττων τῷ μα-
[κρ]ολογεῖν οὔτε ῥάδι-
[ον] ἓνα ὄντα τοσαύ-
[τας] καὶ τηλικαύτας πρά-
[ξεις] *ἐπελθεῖν καὶ μνη-
30 [μο]νεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ κεφαλαί-
[ου] δὲ οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν
[περὶ] αὐτῆς. ὥσπερ
[γὰρ] ὁ ἥλιος πᾶσαν

Col. 4.

τὴν οἰκὸς[μένην] ἐπέρ-
χεται τὰς μὲν (ῶ)ρας δι-
ακρίνων [αἰ] κατὰ τὸ π[ρ]ό[τε]ρον
καὶ καλοῦν[τες] καιροῦν καθίσταν
5 τοῖς δὲ (ι) ----- εἰ
ικισ(τ) ----- ων
επι(μ) ----- (α)ι γε
----- και
[πλε]ονα[ζ]οντας τῶν ἀ[λλ]ων
10 [πα]ντων τῶν εἰς τὸν
β[ί]ον χρησίμων, οὕτως
καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διατε-
[λε]ῖ τοῦ(ν) μὲν κακοῦς κολά-
[ζ]ουσα τοὺς δὲ δίκαιους
15 [προ]τιμῶσα, (τ)ὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀν-
θρώποις καὶ ἀ[ξί]ας ἀπασιν
[εὐ]εργεσίας οἷς δὲ δι-
[α]νέμουσα καὶ δαπά-
να(ν) [τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν] τοῖς
20 Ἑλλησι παρασκε[ύ]αζον-
σα. *Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν
κοινῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως
ὥσπερ [ἐν] βραχεῖ εἰρη[ρ]αί-
φω, περ[ὶ] δὲ Λεωσθένους καὶ
25 τῶν ἀ[λλ]ων ἤδη τοὺς λόγους ποι-
ήσο(μ)[αι]. νῦν δὲ πόθεν
ἀρξώμα[ι] ἐπαινῶν, ἢ τίνος
πρώτον μνησθῶ; πότε-
ρα περ[ὶ] τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν
30 ἐκάστου διεξιέλθω; ἀλλ' εὖ-
ηδὲς εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω.
*τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις τινὰς ἀν-
θρώπους ἐγκωμιάζοντα,

Col. 3, l. 2, η, l. 3, η MS. l. 14, δα MS. l. 16, παλ MS. l. 18, πολέμω MS. l. 21, [τ] ἢ α, ε, MS. possibly. l. 22, προτιμῶν MS. l. 25, τω MS. and so often, but more usually τω. l. 29, σκελεῖν MS. l. 31, σκελεῖν MS. l. 33, τω is erroneously repeated in the MS.
Col. 4, l. 13, κεν MS. l. 14, δα MS. l. 30, εἰς MS. apparently. l. 32, το μεν αλλοις MS. See Col. 11, l. 4, and 12.

Col. 3, l. 3, προαιρέσει] Diogenes (xviii. 10) says that the majority were anxious for war, but that the rich citizens were opposed to it. Hyperides and Leosthenes, who were soon afterwards joined by Demosthenes, were the most prominent among the war-party. See Plat. Phoc. p. 752. Pseudo-Plut. Vit. X. Orat. p. 840. Just. xiii. 5.

l. 15, εὐεργεσίαι] See Diol. Sic. xviii. 9.
l. 21, τὰ καθ' ἑκαστον] in the particulars. Cf. Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhet. c. 6. § 2, ἐπὶ τὰς καθ' ἑκαστον (particular persons) οὐ τὰς τοιαύτας οὐ κατὰ τὴν παρὰ τὴν λέγον. See also § 5. Aristot. Eth. Nic. ii. 9, 7. χαλεπὸν δὲ ἵκει τὰς καθ' ἑκαστον καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τὰς καθ' ἑκαστον. See also iii. 15. The expression ἐπὶ τὰς καθ' ἑκαστον (so far through the history of all Greece) is somewhat awkward; it is possible that the words πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ may have been accidentally omitted after ἐπὶ τὰς καθ' ἑκαστον, and the sentence will run smoothly.

l. 33, ὁ ἥλιος] Cf. Menander περὶ ἐνδοξου. (Rhet. Gr. Vol. iii. p. 382, Spang.) ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπαλὴ τῆς ἐκαστοῦ πατρίδος καὶ κοινῆς πόλεως ἐπαίρει τὴν περὶ πάντων ἐνδοξίαν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἥ δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀναγκῆς ἐκείνη, φασί. Hyperides probably went on to add, that the sun put to flight noxious damps, &c.; corresponding to τὸν καιρὸν. Somewhat similarly Socrates observes, τὸν ἥλιον, ἐνδοξὸν ἐν χωρὶς πράξεσσι, προκρίνει τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ δὲ ζῴων, ὡς κοινὴν ἐκείνην... καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀνατρέφονται, ἵδω δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀφελούς. (Xen. Mem. Soc. iv. 3, 8.)

Col. 4, l. 13, τοὺς μὲν κακοὺς α. ε. λ.] (οἱ ἀνέτεροι πρόγονοι) τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς καταζῶντας. Lys. Epitaph. § 19. (p. 192, St.) For this and for what follows compare also Isoc. Paneg. pp. 45, 46, St. and Thucyd. ii. 37, 40, 41. The restorations are of course more or less uncertain in this column: instead of ἀνθρώπων α. ε. λ. a friend suggests τὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκαστοῦ ἀρετῆς, τὸ δὲ ἴσον οὐ δὲ ἴσον ἴδω. Compare Lys. Epitaph. § 56.

l. 17, ἐνδοξίαι] In allusion to the mercenaries in the pay of Athens, apparently.

l. 23, ἀλφω] The error of the scribe lessens the small chance that might have remained of restoring the text: the MS. seems to have αλφω or αλφω. Perhaps ἀλφω or ἀλφω approaches the dactyl litterum as nearly as anything else; but neither of these is satisfactory. Possibly προαιρέσει is the true reading in line 22.

l. 26, οὐ δὲ α. ε. λ.] Cf. Plat. Menex. p. 239 κ. Pseudo-Demosth. Epitaph. p. 1393.

l. 32, τὸν μὲν γὰρ α. ε. λ.] It would indeed be possible to make the sentence construe by a much slighter alteration of the MS., i.e. by changing ἐπὶ into ἐν below (Col. 5, l. 5) and reading, ἀλλ' εὐδὲς εἶναι ἐνταυθὲν τὸ μὲν ἄλλοις α. ε. λ. τοὺς μὲν δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν α. ε. λ. I think it a foolish stretch of good nature in any one's case, but in that of Athenians utterly superfluous. But the corrections in the text bring out a much more forcible sense.

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INTRODUCTION

THE funeral speech of Hyperides, delivered in 322 B.C. over the Athenian dead in the Lamian war, is mentioned more than once by ancient authors ^a ; so that the text, when it was at last recovered, was identified despite the absence of title.

When the news of Alexander's death reached Greece in 323, the Athenians immediately voted for war with Macedon. Lycurgus, who for years had husbanded the city's strength, had died too soon to see the results of his work ; Demosthenes was in exile, Demades disfranchised, and Phocion, though still taking part in public affairs, had pleaded in vain for peace. It was therefore natural that Hyperides, always a vigorous opponent of Macedon, should be the leading spokesman of the war.

The first active step which the Athenians took was to send for a general named Leosthenes, to us an unknown figure, and to provide him with the money necessary to secure mercenaries ; of which as it happened there were eight thousand at Cape Taenarum waiting to be employed.^b Leosthenes, who had perhaps seen service under Alexander, was clearly an outstanding man. More than a mere soldier, for Hyperides ascribes to him the city's policy, he proved himself an able leader in the coming summer.

^a e.g. Diodor. xviii. 13 ; *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 849 F.

^b See § 11.

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The war, which was to end a year later in disaster, began well for Athens, since the first few months brought three victories in the field. Sailing first with his mercenaries to Aetolia in quest of allies, Leosthenes subsequently occupied Thermopylae, and turning back from there defeated a Macedonian force under the commander of the Cadmea garrison who was trying to prevent the arrival of Athenian reinforcements. This was the first success.^a Meanwhile Antipater prepared to move. Forced, in his capacity as regent for Alexander, to bear the brunt of the war, he sent to Asia to make good his shortage of men and then marched south into Thessaly, there to encounter Leosthenes already north of Thermopylae. In the battle which followed the Athenians scored their second triumph, and Antipater was beleaguered in the town of Lamia. Leosthenes rejected all offers of peace but proved unable to storm the place; and the siege which dragged on through the winter finally cost him his life. His place was taken by Antiphilus, who, though forced to withdraw from Lamia, succeeded in killing Leonnatus, the satrap of Phrygia, who had come to relieve the town.^b Antipater, now freed, withdrew to Macedonia, leaving Athens the victor in the first round of the contest; for the Athenian fleet, of which Hyperides makes no mention, had probably not yet sustained its first defeat at the hands of Cleitus off Abydos.

At this stage of the war, in the early spring of 322,^c

^a See § 17.

^b See § 14.

^c The exact chronology is uncertain, but the tone which Hyperides adopts suggests that neither the naval defeat off Abydos nor the drawn battle of Crannon, dated by the *Cambridge Ancient History* to the spring and summer of 322 respectively, had taken place at the time he spoke.

HYPERIDES

according to the custom which Thucydides has described,^a the Athenian dead were buried at a public funeral and Hyperides was chosen to pronounce the oration over them. A funeral speech, to judge from those which have survived,^b was bound to observe certain rigid conventions. The speaker confessed his inadequacy for the task, and besides praising the dead and consoling the bereaved, paid tribute to the prowess of their ancestors and the glory of the city. Hyperides discharged all these duties but in his own way. It was unusual to give to one man the prominence which he here gives to Leosthenes; and there is no surviving parallel to the passage in which the leader is depicted in Hades as welcomed by the heroes of old. The speech was counted a remarkable one in antiquity,^c and despite a few faults of inaccuracy and certain rhetorical features which modern readers may think inappropriate, it still claims admirers, and is probably the orator's best known work.

^a Thucyd. ii. 34.

^b The other extant funeral speeches are: those of Pericles (Thucyd. ii. 35 *sq.*), Lysias (ii.), Plato (*Menexenus*), and [Demosthenes] (lx.).

^c [Longinus], *de Sublim.* 34. 2; *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 849 f.

ANALYSIS

- §§ 1-3. Introduction : praise is due to the city, to the soldiers and to the general.
- §§ 4-5. This is not the time to dwell upon the virtues of the city, great though they are.
- §§ 6-40. Praise of Leosthenes and his men :
- §§ 6-9. To describe their birth and education is unnecessary.
- §§ 10-14. Leosthenes dedicated himself and Athens to the cause of freedom and, by his victories, laid the foundations of a successful campaign.
- §§ 15-19. The courage of the men, which was increased by the sight of ruined Thebes. They have won undying fame.
- §§ 20-23. The prospect of Macedonian domination if they had not resisted. The rigours of the campaign.
- §§ 24-34. They must be counted happy ; for they have proved their valour, brought content to those they loved, and won honour and respect from all. They will be more famed than the heroes of the Trojan War.
- §§ 35-40. The welcome which, it may be imagined, Leosthenes will receive from the heroes of old.
- §§ 41-43. Message of comfort to the bereaved.

[ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ]

- 1] Τῶν μὲν λόγων τ[ῶν μελ]λόντων¹ ῥηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ [περί τε]² Λεωσθένους τοῦ στ[ρατη]γοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄ[λλων] τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου [τετελ]ευτηκότων ἐν τ[ῷ πολ]έμῳ, ὡς ἦσαν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, μά[ρτυς]³ αὐτοῦ ὁ χ[ρόνος]⁴ ὁ σ
 ωι τὰς πρ[άξεις]⁵]ς ἀνθρω[π
 ν] πω κα[. ἐ]ώρακε ωρ
 [ἐν τῷ π]αντὶ αἰῶ[νι γ]εγεννη[.
 οὔτε] ἄνδρας [ἀμείνους τῶν] τετελευτ[ηκότων] οὔτε
 2] πρ[άξεις μεγαλ]οπρεπεστ[έρας. διὸ] καὶ μάλιστα
 [νῦν φοβοῦ]μαι,⁶ μή μοι συμ[βῇ τὸν λ]όγον ἐλάττω
 φαίν[εσθαι τῶν ἔρ]γων] τῶν γεγεννη[μέ]νων. πλὴν
 κατ' [ἐκεῖ]νό γε πάλιν θα[ρρῶ ὅ]τι τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 <ἐ>κ[λει]πόμενα⁷ ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκούοντες προσθήσετε·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐ<ν> τοῖς τυχοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι ῥηθήσονται,
 2] ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς μάρτυσι τῶν <ἐκ>είνοι[ς π]ε-
 3]πραγμένων. ἄξιον δέ [ἐσ]τιν ἐπαιεῖν <τ>ὴν μὲν
 [πό]λιν ἡμῶν <τ>ῆς προαιρέ[σεω]ς ἕνεκεν, τὸ προ-
 ε[λέσθ]αι ὅμοια καὶ ἔτι σε[μνό]τερα καὶ καλλίω
 τῶν [πρότ]ερον αὐτῇ πεπρα[γμέ]νων, τοὺς δὲ τε-
 τε[λευ]τηκότας τῆς ἀνδρείας τῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ,
 τὸ μὴ καταισχύναι τὰς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς, τὸν

¹ Col. 1 plerumque restituit Blass.

² περί τε Cobet.

³ μάρτυς Buecheler.

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THE words to be pronounced above this grave, a tribute to Leosthenes the general and the others who have perished with him in the war, for the courage they have shown, have as their witness time itself . . .^a nor better men than these now dead nor more resplendent actions. Indeed my greatest doubt to-day is lest my speech may prove unworthy of their exploits. I am, however, taking heart in this assurance : that what I leave unsaid will be supplied by you who hear me ; for my listeners will be no random audience but the persons who themselves have witnessed the actions of these men. While praise is due to Athens for her policy, for choosing as she did a course not only ranking with her past achievements but even surpassing them in pride and honour, and to the fallen also for their gallantry in battle, for proving worthy of their forbears' valour, to Leosthenes

^a The missing words were restored by Sudhaus so as to give the following sense : “. . . time itself which holds the record of their deeds. For no man known during the history of the world has seen in any land a nobler choice than this or better men, etc.”

⁴ αὐτὸς ὁ χρόνος Kenyon.

⁵ τὰς πράξεις Babington : τὰ ὄπλα Kenyon.

⁶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι Jensen in add. (φοβοῦμαι iam Babington) : πεφόβημαι Herwerden.

⁷ ἐκλειπόμενα Sudhaus : παραλειπόμενα Sauppe.

δὲ στρατηγὸν Λεωσθένη διὰ ἀμφοτέρα· τῆς τε γὰρ προαιρέσεως εἰσηγητῆς τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἡγεμὼν τοῖς πολίταις κατέστη.

4 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως διεξιέναι τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ὦν¹ πρό[τε]ρον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλά[δα] <εὐεργέτηκεν>² οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρὼν ἱκανός, οὔτε ὁ και[ρὸς] ἀρμόττων τῷ μα[κρ]ολογεῖν, οὔτε ῥάδι[ον] ἓνα ὄντα τοσαύ[τας] καὶ τηλικαύτας πρά[ξεις] [ἐπ]ελθεῖν³ καὶ μνη[μο]νεῦσαι· ἐπὶ κεφαλαί[ου δ] ἐ

5 οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν [περ]ὶ αὐτῆς. ὥσπερ [γὰρ] ὁ
[col. 3] ἥλιος πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμ[ένη]ν ἐπέρχεται, τὰ[s μὲν]⁴ ὥρας διακρίνων [εἰς τὸ π]ρέπον⁵ καὶ καλῶ[s πάντα καθ]ιστάς,⁶ τοῖς δὲ σ[ώ]φροσι⁷ καὶ ἐπ[ι]εικέσι τ[ῶν ἀνθρώπ]ων ἐπιμ[ε]λούμενος κ[αὶ] γεν[έ]σεως καὶ τροφῆ[s] καὶ [καρπ]ῶν κ[αὶ τῶν ἄ]λλων⁷ ἀ[πά]ντων τῶν εἰς τὸν β[ί]ον χρησίμων, οὕτως καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διατελε[ῖ το]ὺς μὲν κακοὺς κολάζο[υσα, τοῖς] δὲ δικαίοις β[ο]ηθοῦσα, τὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀν[τι] τῆς ἀδικίας⁸ ἅπασιν [ἀπο]νέμουσα,⁹ τ[οῖς] δὲ ἰδί[οις] κινδύνοις κα[ὶ] δαπάναι[s κοινὴν ἄδει]αν τοῖς Ἑλλη[σιν]

6 παρασκευ[ά]ζουσα. [περὶ μὲν οὖν] τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλ[εως]¹⁰ ὥσπερ [προεῖπον]¹¹ φρά[σαι]¹² <παρ>αλείψω,¹³ πε[ρὶ] δὲ Λεωσθέν[ους] καὶ τῶν ἄ[λλων] τοὺς λόγ[ους] ποιήσομ[αι]. νῦν δὲ πόθεν ἄρξωμα[ι λέγων],¹⁴ ἢ τίνος πρῶτον μνησθῶ; πό-
τερα περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐκάστου διεξέλθω;
7 ἄλλ' εὖηθες εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω· τὸ<ν> μὲν <γὰρ>¹⁵

¹ ὦν Blass olim : τῶν S, ret. Cobet.

² εὐεργέτηκεν add. Blass olim : πεπραγμένων suppl. Cobet qui ἀνὰ post πρότερον add.

³ ἐπελθεῖν Babington : ἀπελθεῖν S.

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the general it is doubly due ; the city's guide in framing her decision, he was besides the citizens' commander in the field.

In the case of Athens, to recount in detail the benefits which she has previously conferred upon the whole of Greece would be a task too great to compass in the time we have, nor is the occasion one for lengthy speaking. Indeed it is not easy for a single man, faced with so many noble actions, to recall the full story to your minds. I shall, however, venture one general comment on her. Compare her with the sun which visits the whole world and duly separates the seasons, disposing all things for the best, with provision, where men are virtuous and prudent, for their birth and nurture, the crops and all the other needs of life ; for so our city never fails to punish the wicked, help the just, mete out to all men fairness in place of wrong, and at her individual peril and expense assure the Greeks a common safety. To deal with the achievements of the city as a whole is, as I said before, a task which I shall not attempt, and I will here confine myself to Leosthenes and his companions. At what point, then, shall I take up the story ? What shall I mention first ? Shall I trace the ancestry of each ? To do so would, I think, be

⁴ Col. 3 *plerumque restituit* Babington.

⁵ εἰς τὸ πρέπον Blass.

⁶ πάντα καθιστάς Cobet.

⁷ σώφροσι usque ad ἄλλων Blass.

⁸ ἀδικίας Jensen : πλεονεξίας anon. ap. Babington.

⁹ ἀπονέμουσα Kaibel : φυλάττουσα Blass.

¹⁰ ἔργων τῆς πόλεως Sauppe et Tell.

¹¹ προεῖπον Blass.

¹² φράσαι Kayser.

¹³ παραλείψω Buecheler : ἀλιφω S.

¹⁴ λέγων Sauppe.

¹⁵ τὸν μὲν γὰρ Schäfer.

- [col. 4] ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ἐγκωμιάζοντα, οἳ πολλα-
 χόθεν εἰς μίαν πόλιν συνεληλυθότες οἰκοῦσι γένος
 ἴδιον ἕκαστος συνεισενεγκάμενος, τοῦτον¹ μὲν δεῖ
 κατ' ἄνδρα γενεαλογεῖν ἕκαστον· περὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίων
 ἀνδρῶν τοῦ(ς) λόγου(ς) ποιούμενον,² οἷς ἡ κοινὴ
 γένεσις α[ὐτόχ]θοσιν οὔσιν ἀνυπέρβλητ[ον] τὴν εὐ-
 γένειαν ἔχει, περιέργον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἰδίᾳ [τὰ] γένη
 8 ἐγκωμιάζειν. ἀλλὰ [πε]ρὶ τῆς παιδείας αὐτῶν ἐπι-
 [μνη]σθῶ, καὶ ὥς ἐν πολλῇ σ[ωφρο]σύνῃ παῖδες
 ὄντ[ες] ἐτρά]φησαν καὶ ἐπαιδε[ύθησαν]³ ὅπερ εἰώ-
 θασίν [τινες ποι]εῖν;⁴ ἀλλ' οἶμαι π[άντας] εἰδέναι
 ὅτι τούτο[υ ἔνεκα]⁵ τοῦ(ς) παῖδας παιδεύο[μεν],⁵
 ἵνα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γ[ένων]ται⁶. τοὺς δὲ γεγενη-
 μ[ένους] ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀνδρ[ας] ὑπερβάλλοντας τῇ
 ἀ[ρετῇ], πρόδηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι πα[ῖδες] ὄντες καλῶς
 9 ἐπαιδε[ύθη]σαν. ἀπλούστατον ο[ὖν ἡ]γοῦμαι εἶναι
 τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διεξελθεῖν ἀρετὴν, καὶ ὥς πολ-
 λῶν ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι γεγένη(ν)ται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν. ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 10 στρατηγοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δίκαιον. Λεωσθένης γὰρ ὁρῶν
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν τεταπεινωμένην καὶ'
 [col. 5] ἐπτη[χυ]ϊαν, κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ [τῶν] δωροδο-
 κούντων παρὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ
 [τῶν] πατρίδων τῶν αὐτῶν, [καὶ τ]ὴν μὲν πόλιν
 ἡμῶν [δεομέ]νην⁸ ἀνδρός, τὴν δ' Ἑλλά[δα πᾶ]σαν
 πόλεως, ἣτις προστῆ[ναι] δυν[ή]σεται⁹ τῆς ἡγεμο-
 νίας, [ἐπέδ]ωκεν¹⁰ ἑαυτὸν μὲν τῇ [πατρί]δι, τὴν δὲ
 11 πόλιν τοῖς Ἑλλη[σιν] εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· καὶ ξενικὴν

¹ τοῦτον Cobet : τούτων S.² ποιούμενον] ποιούμενος Cobet.³ ἐπαιδεύθησαν Babington.

FUNERAL SPEECH, 7-11

foolish. Granted, if one is praising men of a different stamp, such as have gathered from divers places into the city which they inhabit, each contributing his lineage to the common stock, then one must trace their separate ancestry. But from one who speaks of Athenians, born of their own country and sharing a lineage of unrivalled purity, a eulogy of the descent of each must surely be superfluous. Am I then to touch upon their education, and, as other speakers often do, remind you how as children they were reared and trained in strict self-discipline? None of us, I think, is unaware that our aim in training children is to convert them into valiant men; and that men who have proved of exceptional courage in war were well brought up in childhood needs no stressing. The simplest course, I think, will be to tell you of their courage under arms, revealing them as authors of many benefits conferred upon their country and the rest of Greece. First I shall take the general, as is his due. For Leosthenes perceived that the whole of Greece was humiliated and . . . cowed, corrupted by men who were accepting bribes from Philip and Alexander against their native countries. He realized that our city stood in need of a commander, and Greece herself of a city, able to assume the leadership, and he gave himself to his country and the city to the Greeks, in the cause of freedom. After raising

⁴ *τινες ποιεῖν* Jensen (*ποιεῖν iam* Lightfoot): *παιδεύειν* Sauppe.

⁵ *ἐνεκα* et *παιδεύομεν* Sauppe.

⁶ *γένωνται* Babington.

⁷ Post *καὶ* add. *ὥσπερ* Kenyon.

⁸ *δεομένην* Babington, qui coll. 5 et 6 *plerumque* restituit.

⁹ *δυνήσεται* Schäfer.

¹⁰ *ἐπέδωκεν* Kayser: *ἀπέδωκεν* Babington.

μὲν δύναμιν <συ>στησάμενος, τῆς δὲ πολιτικῆς ἡγεμὼν καταστάς, τοὺς πρώτους ἀντιταξαμένους τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίᾳ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ Εὐβοέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους

12 αὐτῶν ἐνίκησε μαχόμενος ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Πύλας καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς [πα]ρόδους,¹ δι' ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐ[πὶ τ]οὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐ[πο]ρεύθησαν, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ [τῇν] Ἑλλάδα πορείας Ἀντίπατρον ἐκώλυσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ [κα]ταλαβὼν ἐν τοῖς τόποις τού[τοι]ς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας, ἐπολι[όρ]κει

13 κατακλείσας εἰς Λαμίαν. Θετταλοὺς δὲ καὶ Φωκέας καὶ [Αἰ]τωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ συμμάχους ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὧν Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκόντων ἡγούμενοι ἐσημνύνοντο, τούτων Λεωσθένης ἐκόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβεν. συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ὧν

[col. 6] προείλετο κρατῆσαι, τῆς δὲ εἰ[μαρ]μένης οὐκ ἦν

14 περιγενέ[σθαι]. δίκαιον δ' ἐστὶν μὴ μ[όνον] ὧν ἔπραξεν Λεωσθέν[ης ἀε]ῖ² χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ πρ[ώ]τῳ,³ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὕστερον [γενομένη]ς μάχης μετὰ τ[ὸν ἐκείνου]⁴ θάνατον, καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων ἀγ]αθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ σ[τρατεία τ]αύτῃ συμβάντων [τοῖς Ἑλ]λησιν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ [Λε]ωσθένους <τε>θεῖσιν θεμελίοις οἰκοδομοῦσιν οἱ νῦν τὰς ὕστερον πράξεις.

15 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν [μη]δέναι λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, [ἀλλὰ]⁵ Λεωσθένη μόν<ον> ἐγκω[μιάζ]ειν.⁶ συμβαίνει γὰρ [τὸν Λε]ωσθένους ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ταῖς μάχαις ἐγκώμιον [τῶν ἄλ]λων⁶ πολιτῶν εἶναι· το[ῦ μὲν] γὰρ βουλευέσθαι καλ[ῶς ὁ στρα]-τηγὸς αἴτιος, τοῦ δὲ νι[κᾶν μαχ]ομένους οἱ κινδυ-

FUNERAL SPEECH, 11-15

a mercenary force he took command of the citizen army and defeated the first opponents of Greek freedom, the Boeotians, Macedonians and Euboeans, together with their other allies, in battle in Boeotia. Thence he advanced to Pylae^a and occupied the pass through which, in bygone days as well, barbarians marched against the Greeks. He thus prevented the inroad of Antipater into Greece, and overtaking him in that vicinity, defeated him in battle and shut him into Lamia, which he then besieged. The Thessalians, Phocians, Aetolians, and all the other peoples of the region, he made his allies, bringing under his control, by their own consent, the men whom Philip and Alexander gloried in controlling against their wish. The circumstances subject to his will he mastered, but fate he could not overpower. Leosthenes must have first claim upon our gratitude for ever, not only for the acts performed by him, but also for the later battle, fought after his death, and for those other triumphs which the Greeks have gained in this campaign. For on the foundations laid by Leosthenes the subsequent success of his survivors rests. Let no one fancy that I disregard the other citizens and keep my eulogy for him alone. The praise bestowed upon Leosthenes for these engagements is in fact a tribute to the rest. For though sound strategy depends upon the leader, success in battle is ensured by those who

^a In fact Leosthenes seems to have occupied Thermopylae before his victory in Boeotia.

¹ παρόδους Spengel.

² ἀεὶ Jensen (sed in add. καὶ): ζῶν Kenyon.

³ πρώτῳ Blass.

⁴ ἐκείνου Müller.

⁵ ἀλλὰ et ἐγκωμιάζειν Sauppe.

⁶ τῶν ἄλλων Jensen.

ν[εύειν ἐθ]έλοντες τοῖς σώμασ[ιν· ὥστ]ε ὅταν ἐπαι-
ν[ῶ τὴν γ]εγονυῖαν νίκην, ἅμα τ[ῇ Λε]ωσθένους ἡγε-
μονία καὶ [τὴν τ]ῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν ἐγκωμ[ιάσ]ω.¹

16 τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δικα[ίως] ἐπαινοίῃ τῶν πολιτῶν
το[ύς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ [τε]λευτήσαντας, οἱ τὰς
ἐα[υτῶν] ψυχὰς ἔδωκαν ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς τῶν] Ἑλλήνων
ἐλευθερίας, [φα]νερωτάτην ἀπόδειξιν τ[αύτ]ην ἡγού-
μενοι εἶναι τοῦ [βούλ]εσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι [τὴν] ἐλε[υ-
[col. 7] θερ]ίαν περιθεῖναι, τὸ μαχομ[ένους]² τελευτῆσαι
17 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ[ς]. μ[έ]γα δ' αὐτοῖς συνεβάλετ[ο εἰ]ς τὸ
προθύμως ὑπὲρ τῆς [Ἑλλά]δος³ ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸ ἐν
τῇ [Βοιω]τία τὴν μάχην τὴν π[ροτέραν]⁴ γενέσθαι.
ἑώρων γὰρ [τὴν μὲν π]όλιν τῶν Θηβαίων οἰκτ[ρῶς
ἡφα]νισμένην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, [τὴν δὲ ἀ]κρόπολιν
αὐτῆς φρουρου[μένην] ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὰ δὲ
σώματα τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐξηνδραποδισμένα, τὴν
δὲ χώραν ἄλλους διανεμομένους, ὥστε πρὸ ὀφθαλ-
μῶν ὁρώμενα αὐτοῖς τὰ δεινὰ ἄοκνον π[αρ]εῖχε
τόλμα<ν> εἰς τὸ κινδυνεύειν [πρ]οχείρως.

18 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὴν γε π[ερὶ Π]ύλας⁴ καὶ Λαμίαν
μάχην γεν[ομένην] οὐχ ἥττον αὐτοῖς ἔνδο[ξον γεν]-
έσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἥς [ἐν Βοιω]τοῖς ἡγωνίσαντο,
οὐ μόνον [τῷ μαχο]μένους νικᾶν Ἀντίπατρον [καὶ
τοὺς σ]υμμάχους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τόπῳ [τῷ ἐ]νταυθοῖ
γεγενῆσθαι τὴν μ[άχην.] ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἑλ-
λη[νες ἀπα]ντες δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς [τὴν Πυλ]αίαν,
θεωροὶ γενήσονται τῶν ἔργων τῶν π[επρα]γμένων

¹ ἐγκωμιάσω Stahl : ἐγκωμιάζω Sauppe.

² μαχομένους Sauppe : μαχόμενοι Babington.

³ Col. 7 plerumque restituit Babington : sed Ἑλλάδος et
προτέραν Sauppe.

⁴ περὶ Πύλας Cobet.

FUNERAL SPEECH, 15-18

are prepared to risk their lives ; and therefore, in the praise that I bestow upon the victory gained, I shall be commending not merely the leadership of Leosthenes but the courage of his comrades too. For who could rightly grudge his praise to those of our citizens who fell in this campaign, who gave their lives for the freedom of the Greeks, convinced that the surest proof of their desire to guarantee the liberty of Greece was to die in battle for her ? One circumstance did much to reinforce their purpose as champions of Greece : the fact that the earlier battle was fought in Boeotia.^a They saw that the city of Thebes had been tragically annihilated from the face of the earth, that its citadel was garrisoned by the Macedonians, and that the persons of its inhabitants were in slavery, while others parcelled out the land among themselves. And so these threats, revealed before their eyes, gave them an undaunted courage to meet danger gladly.

Yet the action fought near Pylae and Lamia has proved to be as glorious for them as the conflict in Boeotia, not solely through the circumstances of victory in the field, over Antipater and his allies, but on the grounds of situation also. The fact that this has been the battle's site will mean that all the Greeks, repairing twice a year to the council of the Amphictyones, will witness their achievements ; for

^a The points which Hyperides makes in this and in the following section will not bear examination. For (1) the first victory was gained in the territory of Plataea, not within sight of Thebes ; (2) the second battle was probably fought near Heraclea in Trachis, and its site could not be seen from Anthela where the Amphictyonic council met. Moreover, the council met there only once a year and could hardly be called representative of the whole of Greece.

- αὐτοῖς· ἄμα γὰρ εἰς τὸ[ν τό]πον ἀθροισθήσονται
 19 καὶ τῇ[ς το]ύτων ἀρετῆς μνησθήσονται. ο]υδένες
 γὰρ πώποτε τῶν γεγονότων οὔτε περὶ καλλιόνων
 οὔτε πρὸς ἰσχυροτέρους οὔτε μετ' ἐλαττόνων ἡγω-
 νίσαντο, τὴν ἀρετὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν πλήθος,
 ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν πολὺν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι
 κρίνοντες. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
 πᾶσιν κατέθεσαν, τὴν δ' εὐδοξίαν <τὴν>¹ ἀπὸ τῶν
 [col. 8] πράξεων ἴδιον στέφανον τῇ πατρίδ[ι περι]έθηκαν.²
 20 "Ἄξιον τοίνυν συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν συμβῆναι
 νομίζομεν³ μὴ κατὰ τρόπον τούτων ἀγωνισαμένων.
 ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνὸς μὲν δεσπότου τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπ-
 ἤκοον ἅπασαν εἶναι, νόμῳ δὲ τῷ τούτου τρόπῳ
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρῆσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα; συνελόντα δ' εἰ-
 πείν, τὴν Μακεδόνων ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ μὴ τὴν τοῦ
 δικαίου δύναμιν ἰσχύειν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὥστε μήτε
 γυναικῶν μήτε παρθένων μήτε παίδων ὕβρεις
 21 ἀνεκλείπτους⁴ ἐκάστοις καθεστάναι. φανερόν δ' ἐξ
 ὧν ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι⁵· θυσίας μὲν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις γ[ιγνο]μένας⁶ ἐφορᾶν, ἀγάλμ[ατα δέ] καὶ βω-
 μοὺς καὶ ναοὺς τοῖ[ς μὲν] θεοῖς ἀμελῶς, τοῖς δὲ
 ἀνθρώ[ποις] ἐπιμελῶς συντελούμενα, καὶ τοὺς
 <τού>των' οἰκέτας ὥσπερ ἥρωας τιμᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγ-
 22 καζομένους. ὅπου δὲ τὰ πρὸς <τούς>⁸ θεοὺς ὅσα
 διὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων τόλμαν ἀνῆρηται, τί τὰ πρὸς
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους⁹ χρῆ νομίζειν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν παν-
 τελῶς καταλελύσθαι; ὥστε ὅσῳ δεινότερα τὰ

¹ τὴν add. Blass.

² περιέθηκαν Sauppe.

³ νομίζομεν Kayser : νομίζοιμεν S.

⁴ ἀνεκλείπτους plerique edd., qui lacunam indicant : ἂν ἐκλείπτους (verbum ignotum) S : post ἐκάστοις add. μὴ Colin.

⁵ ἔτι Kayser : ἐστὶ Cobet : ἐᾶν Caffiaux.

FUNERAL SPEECH, 18-22

by the very act of gathering in that spot they will recall the valour of these men. Never before did men strive for a nobler cause, either against stronger adversaries or with fewer friends, convinced that valour gave strength and courage superiority as no mere numbers could. Liberty they gave us as an offering for all to share, but the honour of their deeds they have bestowed upon their country as a wreath for her alone.

Now we might well reflect what, in our opinion, the outcome would have been, had these men failed to do their duty in the struggle. Must we not suppose that the whole world would be under one master, and Greece compelled to tolerate his whim as law? In short that Macedonian arrogance, and not the power of justice, would lord it among every people. . . .^a The practices which even now we have to countenance are proof enough: sacrifices being made to men; images, altars, and temples carefully perfected in their honour, while those of the gods are neglected, and we ourselves are forced to honour as heroes the servants of these people. If reverence for the gods has been removed by Macedonian insolence, what fate must we conclude would have befallen the rules of conduct towards man? Would they not have been utterly discounted? The more terrible therefore

^a Various attempts have been made to restore this corrupt passage, from which some words seem to have dropped out, but none is wholly satisfactory. In any case the sense appears to be that outrages on women, girls, and children would continue without pause in every city.

⁶ γιγνομένας Cobet.

⁷ τούτων Cobet.

⁸ τοὺς add. Cobet.

⁹ Post ἀνθρώπους add. δίκαια Fritzsche.

προ(σ)δοκῶμεν' ἂν γενέσθαι κρίνομεν,¹ τοσούτῳ
μειζόνων ἐπαίνων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀξίους χρή

23 νομίζεις. οὐδεμία γὰρ στρατεία τὴν <τῶν>² στρα-
τευομένων ἀρετὴν ἐνεφάνισεν μᾶλλον τῆς νῦν γε-
γεννημένης, ἐν ᾗ γε παρατάττεσθαι μὲν ὁσημέραι
ἀναγκαῖον ἦ<ν>, πλείους δὲ μάχας ἡγωνίσθαι διό.
[col. 9] μιᾶς στρατ[είας] ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πληγὰς³
λαμβάνειν ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ, χειμῶνων
δ' ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέ[ρα]ν ἀναγκαῖων
ἐνδείας τοσ[αύ]τας καὶ τηλικαύτας οὕτως [ἐγ]κρα-
τῶς ὑπομεμ<ε>νηκένα[ι, ὥσ]τε καὶ τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπὸν
[εἶν]αι φράσαι.

24 Τὸν δὴ τοιαύτας καρτερίας ἀόκνως ὑπομεῖναι
τοῦ<ς> πολίτας προτρεψάμενον Λεωσθένη, καὶ τοὺς
τῷ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ προθύμως συναγωνιστὰς
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασχόντας, ἅρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς
ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν εὐτυχεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
ζῆν ἀπόλειψιν ἀτυχεῖς νομιστέον; οἷτινες θνητοῦ
σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ διὰ τὴν
ιδίαν ἀρετὴν τὴν κοινὴν ἐλ[ευ]θερίαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν

25 ἐβεβαίωσαν. φέρει γὰρ πᾶσαν εὐδαιμονίαν⁴
ἄνευ τῆς αὐτονομίας. ο<ὕ> γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀπειλήν,
ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυριεύειν δεῖ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων,
οὐδ' αἰτίαν φοβερὰν εἶναι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, ἀλλ'
ἔλεγχον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν τοὺς δυνάστας
καὶ διαβάλλουσιν τοῦ<ς> πολίτας τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν
ἀσφαλές, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νόμων πίστει γενέσθαι.
26 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπάντων οὗτοι πόνους πόνων διαδόχους
ποιούμενοι, καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν κινδύνους τοῦ<ς>

¹ κρίνομεν Kayser : κρίνουμεν S.

² τῶν add. Babington.

³ πληγὰς] del. Cobet.

FUNERAL SPEECH, 22-26

we think the consequences would have been, the greater must be the praise which we believe the dead have earned. For no campaign has better shown the courage of the soldiers than this last, when they had daily to be arrayed for combat, to fight, on but one expedition, more battles than the combats which any soldier of the past endured,^a and face extreme severities of weather and many hard privations in the daily needs of life with an endurance almost beyond description.

Such trials Leosthenes induced the citizens to brave undaunted, and they gave up their persons gladly to share the struggle with so great a leader. Should they not then be counted fortunate in their display of valour rather than unfortunate in their sacrifice of life? For in exchange for a mortal body they gained undying glory, safeguarding by their personal courage the universal liberty of Greece. . . .^b If men are to be happy, the voice of law, and not a ruler's threats, must reign supreme; if they are free, no groundless charge, but only proof of guilt, must cause them apprehension; nor must the safety of our citizens depend on those who slander them and truckle to their masters but on the force of law alone. Such were the aims with which these men accepted labour upon labour, and with the dangers of the passing hour

^a The exaggeration of this remark has led some editors to doubt the reading.

^b The Greek words which follow here cannot be translated as they stand. Fritzsche's emendation probably restores the correct sense, namely: "Nothing brings complete happiness without self-government." But the Greek wording is uncertain.

⁴ Intercidisse aliquid videtur: ante *πᾶσαν* add. *οὐδὲν* Fritzsche: alii alia.

εἰς τὴν ἅπαντα χρόνον φόβους τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων παραιρούμενοι, τὸ ζῆν ἀνῆλυσαν εἰς τὸ
 27 τοὺς ἄλλους καλῶς ζῆν. διὰ τοὺτους πατέρες
 ἔνδοξοι, μητέρες περίβλε(π)τοι τοῖς πολίταις γε-
 γόνασι, ἀδελφαὶ γάμων τῶν προσηκόντων ἐννόμως
 τετυχήκασι καὶ τεύξονται, παῖδες ἐφόδιον εἰς τὴν
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ε[ὔνοι]αν¹ τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀπολωλό-
 [col. 10] των ἀρετὴν, οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν τοῦτου τοῦ ὀνόματος
 τυχεῖν τοὺς οὕτως ὑπὲρ καλῶν τὸ(ν) βίον ἐκλιπόν-
 τας, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὸ ζῆν (ε)ἰς αἰῶνιον τάξιν μετηλ-
 28 λα[χό]των ἔξουσιν. εἰ γὰρ [ὁ τοῖς]² ἄλλοις ὦν
 ἀνιαρ[ότ]ατος³ θάνατος τούτοις ἀρχηγὸς μεγάλων
 ἀγαθῶν γέγονε, πῶς τούτους ο(ὐ)κ εὐτυχεῖς κρίνειν
 δίκαιον, ἢ πῶς ἐκλελοιπέναι τὸν βίον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι καλλίῳ γένεσιν τῆς πρώτης ὑπαρ-
 ξάσης; τότε μὲν γὰρ παῖδες ὄντες ἄφρονες ἦσαν,
 29 νῦν δ' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν. καὶ τότε μὲν (ἐν)
 πολλῶ⁴ χρόνῳ καὶ διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων τὴν ἀρετὴν
 ἀπέδειξαν· νῦν δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀρξα(μένους) ὑπάρ-
 χει⁵ γινωρίμους πᾶσι καὶ μνημονευτοὺς διὰ ἀνδρα-
 30 γαθίαν γεγονέναι. τίς (γὰρ)⁶ κα(ι)ρὸς ἐν ᾧ τῆς
 τούτων ἀρετῆς οὐ μνημονεύσομεν; τίς τόπος ἐν
 ᾧ ζήλου καὶ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων ἐπαίνων τυγχάνον-
 τας οὐκ ὀψόμεθα; πότερον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως
 ἀγαθοῖς; ἀλλὰ τὰ διὰ τοὺτους γεγονότα τ[ίνας]
 ἄλλους ἢ τούτους ἐπαινείσθ[αι] καὶ μνήμης τυγ-
 χάνειν ποιήσει; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐπραξίαις;
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τούτων ἀρετῇ βεβαίως αὐτῶν ἀπολαύ-
 31 σομεν. παρὰ ποία δὲ τῶν ἡλικιῶν οὐ μακαριστοὶ

¹ εὔνοιαν Cobet.² ὁ τοῖς Cobet.³ ἀνιαρότατος Babington.⁴ ἐν πολλῶ Babington : πολλῶν S.

dispelled the terrors which the whole future held for citizens and Greeks, sacrificing their lives that others might live well. To them we owe it that fathers have grown famous, and mothers looked up to in the city, that sisters, through the benefit of law, have made, and will make, marriages worthy of them, that children too will find a passport to the people's hearts in these men's valour; these men who, far from dying—death is no word to use where lives are lost, as theirs were, for a noble cause—have passed from this existence to an eternal state. For if the fact of death, to others a most grievous ill, has brought to them great benefits, are we not wrong indeed to count them wretched or to conclude that they have left the realm of life? Should we not rather say they have been born anew, a nobler birth than the first? Mere children then, they had no understanding, but now they have been born as valiant men. Formerly they stood in need of time and many dangers to reveal their courage; now, with that courage as a base, they have become known to all, to be remembered for their valour. On what occasion shall we fail to recollect the prowess of these men, in what place fail to see them win their due of emulation and the highest praise? What if the city prospers? Surely the successes, which they have earned, will bring their praises, and none other's, to our lips and to our memories. Shall we then forget them in times of personal satisfaction? We cannot; for it is through their valour that we shall have the safe enjoyment of those moments. Will there be men of any

⁵ ἀρξαμένους ὑπάρχει Kenyon: ἀξῆσθαι S: ἄξαντας ἦν Jensen in add.: ὑπάρχει ἐνθὺς Cobet.

⁶ γὰρ add. Cobet.

- [col. 11] γενήσο[νται; πότερον οὐ πα]ρὰ¹ τοῖς π[ρεσβυ-
τέροις;² οἱ ἄ]φοβον ἄ[ξιν τὸν λοιπὸν] βίον κα[ὶ ἐν
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ] γεγενῆσ[θαι νομίζουσι]³ διὰ τούτ[ους;
ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῖς] ἡλικιώτ[αις; τελευτῇ
φ καλῶς ὥ
παρὰ πο αι γεγον ; [ἀλλ'
32 οὐ παρὰ τοῖς] νεωτέρο[ις καὶ παισίν; ἔπει]τα οὐ
τὸν [θάνατον ζηλώσου]σιν αὐτ[ῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ σπου]-
δάσουσιν [μιμεῖσθαι ὡς πα]ράδειγμ[α τὸν τούτῳ
33 βίον, ἀνθ'] οὗ τὴν ἀ[ρετὴν καταλελοί]πασι; οὐκ-
[οὖν ἄξιον εὐδαιμονί]ζειν αὐ[τοὺς ἐπὶ τοσαύτῃ τι]μῇ;
ἢ τίνε[ς]φοι λει
Ἑλλην τῶν πε
παρὰ πο[. τῆς] Φρυγῶν κ[ρα-
τησάσης στρα]τείας ἐγ[κωμιασθήσεται;] δὲ
τῆς ἐλ τάτοις ε
ἅπασιν κ[αὶ λόγοις καὶ ὥ]δαῖς⁴ ἐπα[ιν
34 ἀμφό]τερα⁵ γὰρ ε περὶ Λεωσ[θένους]
καὶ τῶν τ[ελευτησάντων] ἐν τῷ πολ[έμῳ].⁶ εἰ μὲν
γάρ⁶ ἡδονῆς ἐν[εκεν μνημονεύ]ουσιν τὰς τ[οιαύτας
καρ]τερίας, τί γέ[νοιτ' ἂν τοῖς Ἑλ]λησιν ἡδι[ον ἢ
ἔπαινος τῶν] τὴν ἐλευθερί[αν παρασκευα]σάντων
ἀ[πὸ τῶν Μακεδό]νων;⁶ εἰ δὲ [ὠφελείας ἔνε]κεν'
[col. 12] ἡ τοια[ύτη μνήμη]⁸ γίγνεται, τίς ἂν λόγος ὠφελή-
σειεν μᾶλλον τὰς τῶν ἀκουσόντων⁹ ψυχὰς τοῦ τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἐγκωμιάσοντος¹⁰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας;

¹ Col. 11 plerumque restituit Blass.² πρεσβυτέροις Cobet: γεραιτέροις Sauppe.

age who will not count them blessed? What of the older generation, who think that through the efforts of these men they have been placed in safety and will pass the rest of their lives free from dread? Consider their compeers . . .^a Think, too, of the younger men and boys. Will they not envy their death and strive themselves to take as an example these men's lives, in place of which they have left behind their valour? Ought we then to count them happy in so great an honour? ^b . . . For if it is for pleasure that men recall such feats of courage, what could be more pleasing to Greeks than the praise of those who gave them freedom from the Macedonian yoke? Or if it is desire for profit that prompts such recollections, what speech could be of greater profit to the hearts of those about to hear it than one which is to honour courage and brave men?

^a The sense is supplied by Kenyon as follows: "To them it has been given, because these died in battle, to enjoy their lives in honour and safety."

^b The missing passage from ἡ τίνες to τῷ πολέμῳ has been tentatively restored by Blass and Kenyon to give the following sense: "Neither poets nor philosophers will be in want of words or song in which to celebrate their deeds to Greece. Surely this expedition will be more famed in every land than that which overthrew the Phrygians. Throughout all time in every part of Greece these exploits will be praised in verse and song. Leosthenes himself and those who perished with him in the war will have a double claim to be revered."

³ νομίζουσι Jensen : ἡγήσονται Blass.

⁴ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς Cobet.

⁵ ἀμφοτέρα usque ad πολέμῳ Cobet.

⁶ εἰ μὲν γὰρ usque ad Μακεδόνων post Cobet et alios Blass.

⁷ ὠφελείας ἔνεκεν Babington.

⁸ μνήμη Cobet.

⁹ ἀκουσόντων] ἀκονόντων Sauppe.

¹⁰ ἐγκωμιάζοντος] ἐγκωμιάζοντος Sauppe.

- 35 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς¹ πᾶσιν
 εὐδοκιμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκαῖον, ἐκ τούτων φανερὸν
 ἐστίν· ἐν Αἰδου δὲ λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, τίνες οἱ
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα δεξιωσόμενοι τὸν τούτων. ἄρ' οὐκ
 ἂν οἴομεθα ὅρᾱν Λεωσθένη δεξιουμένους καὶ θαυ-
 μάζοντας τῶν ἡμιθέων καλουμένων² τοὺς ἐπὶ
 Τροίαν στρατεύσαντας,³ ὧν οὗτος ἀδελφὰς πράξεις
 ἐνστησάμενος τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε, ὥστε οἱ μὲν μετὰ
 πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος μίαν πόλιν εἶλον, ὃ δὲ μετὰ
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος μόνης πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης
 καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχουσαν δύναμιν ἐταπείνωσεν.
- 36 κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἔνεκα μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβρισθείσης
 ἤμυναν, ὃ δὲ πασῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὰς ἐπιφερο-
 μένας ὕβρεις ἐκώλυσεν, μετὰ τῶν συνθαπτομένων
- 37 νῦν αὐτῷ ἀνδρῶν.⁴ τῶν <δὲ>⁵ μετ' ἐκείνους μὲν
 γεγεννημένων, ἄξια δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς διαπε-
 πραγμένων, λέγω δὴ τοὺς περὶ Μιλτιάδην καὶ
- [col. 13] Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 ἐλευθερώσαντες ἔντιμον μὲν τὴν πατρίδα κατέστη-
- 38 σαν, ἔνδοξον <δὲ>⁶ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ἐποίησαν, ὧν
 οὗτος τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχεν ἀνδρεία καὶ φρονήσει,
 ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἐπελθοῦσαν τῇ<ν> τῶν βαρβάρων δύναμιν
 ἡμύναντο, ὃ δὲ μηδ' ἐπελθεῖν ἐποίησεν. κἀκεῖνοι
 μὲν ἐν τῇ οἰκ<ε>ία τοὺς ἐχθ<ρ>οὺς ἐπεῖδον ἀγωνιζο-
 μένους, οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιεγένετο τῶν
 ἀντιπάλων.

¹ λοιποῖς Babington : λόγοις S.

² ἡμιθέων καλουμένων Cobet : δεηγομένων καλουμένους S :
 διηγμένων καὶ ὑμνουμένων in obelis Kenyon : τῶνδε ἡγούμενων
 καὶ καλουμένους ci. L. A. Post.

³ τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεύσαντας Babington : τοὺς ἐπὶ
 στρατείαν στρασαντ. s S.

" With us and all mankind, it is clear, in the light of these reflections, that their fame is now assured, but what of the lower world? Who, we may well ask ourselves, are waiting there to welcome the leader of these men? Are we not convinced that we should see, greeting Leosthenes with wonder, those of the so-called demi-gods who sailed against Troy: heroes whom he so far excelled, though his exploits were akin to theirs, that they with all Greece at their side took but one city, while he with his native town alone brought low the whole power which held Europe and Asia beneath its sway? They championed one lone woman wronged, but he staved off from all Greek women the violence coming upon them, aided by these men who now are being buried with him. Remember the figures who,^a born after the heroes of old, yet rivalled their deeds of valour, the followers of Miltiades and Themistocles, and those others who, by freeing Greece, brought honour to their country and glory to their lives; whom Leosthenes so far outdid in bravery and counsel, that where they beat back the barbarian power as it advanced, he even forestalled its onslaught. They saw a struggle with the foe in their own land, but he defeated his opponents on the foe's own soil.

^a This sentence is awkward in Greek because, though τῶν γεγεννημένων is genitive, dependent on ὑπερέσχευ, the writer has inserted ὧν which is not needed. The difficulty can be avoided by placing a comma after ἀνδρῶν and the full stop after διαπεπραγμένων, but then λέγω δὴ makes an abrupt beginning to the new sentence.

⁴ Sic interpunxit Sauppe: ἀνδρῶν, et διαπεπραγμένων. Co-bet.

⁵ δὲ add. Sauppe.

⁶ δὲ add. Babington.

- 39 Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ <τοὺς>¹ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίαν
 τῷ δήμῳ βεβαιότατα ἐνδειξαμένους, λέγω δὲ Ἀρ-
 μόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα, †οὐθένας² οὕτως αὐτοῖς
 οἰκειότερους ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζειν ὥς†³ Λεωσθέ(ν)η
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ συναγωνισαμένους, οὐδ' ἔστιν οἷς ἂν
 μᾶλλον ἢ τούτοις πλησιάσειαν ἐν ᾧ Αἰδου. εἰκότως·
 οὐκ ἐλάττω γὰρ ἐκείνων ἔργα διεπράξαντο, ἀλλ'
 εἰ δέον εἰπεῖν, καὶ μείζω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τῆς
 πατρίδος τυράννους [κα]τέλυσαν, οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς τῆς
 40 Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. ὧ καλῆς μὲν καὶ παραδόξου
 τόλμης τῆςπραχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
 ἐνδόξου δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς προαιρέσεως ἧς
 προείλοντο, ὑπερβαλλούσης δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρα-
 γαθίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, ἣν οὗτοι παρασχό-
 μενοι εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . .

* * * * *

- 41 Χαλεπὸν³ μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
 ὄντας πάθεσι παραμυθεῖσθαι. τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε
 λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμίζεται, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου
 καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὸν τελευτήσαντα <τὸν>⁴ ὀρισμὸν
 ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρὴ θαρρεῖν καὶ τῆς
 λύπης παραιρεῖν⁵ εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ μεμνή-
 σθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τετελευτηκότων,
 42 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλελοίπασιν. εἰ⁶ γὰρ

¹ τοὺς add. Babington.

² οὐθένας usque ad ὥς locus corruptus: οὐδένας οὕτως αὐτοῖς οἰκείους ἂν εἶναι Sauppe: οὐδαμῶς αὐτοὺς οἰκειότερους ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζειν ἢ Kenyon: οἰκείους ἐτέρους pro οἰκειότερους ci. L. A. Post. Alii alia.

³ Epilogus apud Stobaeum, *Florileg.* cxxiv. 36 servatus est.

FUNERAL SPEECH, 39-42

Those too, I fancy, who gave the people the surest token of their mutual friendship, Harmodius and Aristogiton,^a do not regard . . . as Leosthenes and his comrades in arms ; nor are there any with whom they would rather hold converse in the lower world than these. We need not wonder ; for what these men did was no less a task than theirs ; it was indeed, if judgement must be passed, a greater service still. Those two brought low the tyrants of their country, these the masters of the whole of Greece. Noble indeed beyond our dreams was the courage these men attained, honourable and magnificent the choice they made. How supreme was the valour, the heroism in times of peril, which they, dedicating to the universal liberty of Greece . . .

It is hard no doubt to offer consolation to those borne down with griefs like these. For sorrows are not stilled by word or law ; only the individual's temper, and the measure of his feeling for the dead, can set the limit to his mourning. Yet we must take heart, and restricting our grief as best we may, bear in our minds, with the thought of death, the glorious name which the fallen have left behind them. For

^a The sense appears to be that they regard no one as so suitable to rank with themselves as Leosthenes and his comrades. Harmodius and Aristogiton, who in 514 B.C. plotted to assassinate the two sons of Pisistratus, and after killing one, Hipparchus, were captured and put to death, were later looked upon as liberators of the city. They and their descendants, who enjoyed special privileges, are not infrequently referred to by the orators. Compare Dinarch. i. 63 and 101 ; Hyp. ii. 3.

⁴ τὸν add. Sauppe.

⁵ παραινεῖν Gesner : παραινέειν codd.

⁶ εἰ Leopardi : οὐ codd.

θρήνων ἄξια πεπόνθασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων
 πεποιήκασιν. εἰ δὲ γήρως θνητοῦ μὴ μετέσχον,
 ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εἰλήφασιν, εὐδαίμονές τε
 γεγόνασι κατὰ πάντα. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄπαιδες
 τετελευτήκασιν, οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαινοι
 παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται. ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας
 καταλελοίπασιν, ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὐνοία ἐπίτροπος
 43 αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων καταστήσεται. πρὸς δὲ τοῖ-
 τοις, εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὅμοιον τῷ μὴ γενέ-
 σθαι, ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύπης καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τῶν προσπιπτόντων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον·
 εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ ἐπιμέλεια παρὰ
 τοῦ δαιμονίου, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰκὸς¹ τοὺς
 ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομέναις βοηθήσαντας
 πλείστης κηδεμονίας² ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τυγχά-
 νειν. . . .

¹ εἰκὸς 'Ιουρ : εἶναι vel εἶη codd.

though their fate deserves our tears, their conduct claims the highest praise. Though they have failed to reach old age in life, they have achieved a fame which knows no age, and have attained the height of satisfaction. For all who were childless at their death the praises of the Greeks will be immortal children. For all who have children alive the goodwill of their country will be the children's guardian. And furthermore, if death means non-existence, they have been released from sickness and from grief, and from the other ills which vex our human life. But if in Hades we are conscious still and cared for by some god, as we are led to think, then surely those who defended the worship of the gods, when it was being overthrown, must receive from him the greatest care of all. . . .

² *κηδεμονίας* Ruhnken: *ἐπιμελείας* vel *εὐδαιμονίας* codd.: *ἐπιμελείας καὶ κηδεμονίας* Fuhr.

Fragment 1a

[--] αλλοτ[--] || [--] πολλ[--] || [--] γεν[--]

Fragment 1b

1 || τῶν μὲν λόγων τ[ῶν μελ]λόντων ῥηθήσεσ[θαι ἐπὶ] | τῶιδε I
τῶι τάφω[ι περί τε] | Λεωσθένους τοῦ στ[ρατη]⁵γοῦ καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἄλ[λων] | τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου [τετε]⁵λευτηκότων
ἐν τ[ῶι πολλ]έμῳ, ὥς ἦσαν ἄν[δρες | ἀ]γαθοί, μάρτ[υς 5
..... ὁ ¹⁰χ]ρόνος ὁ [. | ..]ωι τὰς πράξεις | ..]s
ἄνθρω[π | ..]ν πω κα[λλί | ..] εἴώρακε ω[. | ..] οὐδ'
ἐν τῶι ¹⁵π[αντὶ αἰῶν]ι νομιστέον | γεγενῆ[σθαι ..] οὔτε |
ἄνδρας [ἀμείνους τῶν] | τετελε<υ>τ[ηκότων] | οὔτε πράξεις

1-257 P. Lit. Lond. 133 = Brit. Mus. inv. 98 (Pack 1965, 1236)

1 fragmentum ponendum est in col. XI aut post col. XIII, cf. p. 27 2 τῶν μελλόν-
των Babington 3 περί τε Cobet et Sauppe 5-6 μάρτυς ἔστω Colin, μάρτυς αὐτὸς
Kenyon 6 ὁ ἰδὼν ἐν τῶι πολέμῳ Bücheler, ὁ συνειδὼς ἔργῳ Colin τὰς πράξεις
Babington 6-7 ὃν οὐδεὶς ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἔργον πω καλλίον (οὐδεμίαν ... καλλίῳ
Colin) καθεόρακεν Bücheler, οὐ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων προαίρεσιν πω καλλίῳ τῇσδ'
(πρότερόν πω καλλίονας Jensen ap. Hess) εἴώρακε Sudhaus 7-8 ὥστε οὐδ' ἐν τῶι
παντὶ αἰῶνι Bücheler, ὃν ἴσμεν οὐδ' ἐν παντὶ αἰῶνι Sudhaus 8 νομιστέον Bücheler
ποτ' οὔτε Colin 9 ἀμείνους τῶν Bücheler 9-10 πράξεις μεγαλοπρεπεστέρας Jensen
seq. Blass

Fragment 1a

[– –] other [– –] many [– –]

Fragment 1b

As for the speech that will be spoken [over] this grave [con- **1**
cerning] Leosthenes the general and the others who have died
with him in the war, time is a witness to the fact that they were
noble men. Time, which [– –] the *deeds* [– –] men, [– –] has
never seen *more noble* [– – nor in] all eternity [should it be
thought] that there have been [either better] men than those who

- 2 ²⁰μεγαλ[ο]πρεπεστ[έρας. διὸ] | καὶ μάλιστα [νῦν φοβοῦ]μαι, 10
 μή μοι συμ[βῆμι τὸν] | λόγον ἐλάττω φαί[νεσθαι] τῶν
 ἔργων | ²⁵τῶν γεγεννη[μέ]νων. πλήν κατ' [ἐκεῖ]νὸ γε
 πάλικον θ[α]ρρῶ, ὅ[τι] τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ[λει]πόμενα ὑμεῖς
 οἱ ἀ³⁰κούοντες προσηθήσετε· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τυχοῦσιν οἱ
 λόγοι ῥηθήσονται, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς | τοῖς μάρτυσι τῶν 15
- 3 ἐκκείνοις || [π]επραγμένων. ἄξιον δέ | [ἐσ]τιν ἐπαινεῖν II
 <τ>ὴν μὲν | [πό]λιν ἡμῶν <τ>ῆς προαιρέ[σε]ως ἔνεκεν, τὸ
 προε[λ]έσθαι ὅμοια καὶ ἔτι σε[μ]νότερα καὶ καλλίω <τ>ῶν |
 [πρότ]ερον αὐτῇ πεπρα[γμέ]νων, τοὺς δὲ τετε[λε]τηκότας
 τῆς ἀνδρεί¹⁰[α]ς τῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, | τὸ μὴ καταισχύναι 20
 τὰς | τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς· | τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Λεωσιθένη
 διὰ ἀμφοτέρας· τῆς ¹⁵τε γὰρ προαιρέσεως εἰσηγητῆς τῇ
 πόλει ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἡγεμὼν τοῖς πολίταις |
 κατέστη.
- 4 περὶ μὲν οὖν ²⁰[τ]ῆς πόλεως διεξίεναι | [τ]ὸ καθ' ἕκαστον 25
 τῶν πρό[τε]ρον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλά[δ]α <πεπραγμένων>
 οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρ[ώ]ν ἱκανὸς οὔτε ὁ και²⁵[ρὸς] ἀρμόττων
 τῶν μα[κρ]ολογεῖν, οὔτε ράδι[ον] ἓνα ὄντα τοσαύ[τα]ς
 καὶ τηλικαύτας πρά[ξι]εις <διεξ>ελθεῖν καὶ μνη³⁰[μο]νεῦσαι.
 ἐπὶ κεφαλαί[ου] δὲ οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν | [περ]ὶ αὐτῆς· 30
- 5 ὥσπερ | [γὰρ] ὁ ἥλιος πᾶσαν || τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέρχεται, III
 τὰς μὲν ὥρας διαικρίνων [εἰς τὸ] πρέπον | καὶ καλῶς
 πάντα καθ[ιστάς], ¹⁵ τοῖς δὲ σ[ώ]φροσι καὶ ἐπιεικέσι τ[ῶν]
 ἀνθρώπων | ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ γελ[έ]σεως καὶ τροφῆς
 καὶ | [καρπ]ῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ¹⁰ἀ[πά]ντων τῶν εἰς τὸν | 35
 βίον χρησίμων, οὕτως | καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διατελε[ῖ] τοῖς
 μὲν κακοῖς κολάζουσα, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις ¹⁵β[ο]ηθοῦσα,
 τὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀν[τι]τῆς ἀδικίας ἅπασιν | ἀ[πο]νέμουσα, τοῖς
 δὲ ἰδί[οις] κινδύνους καὶ δαπάναις κοινὴν ἅδειαν τοῖς ²⁰

10 διὸ Blass νῦν φοβοῦμαι Jensen 11 φαίνεσθαι Cobet 12–13 ἐκείνους... ὅτι Cobet
 13 ἐκλείπόμενα Sudhaus 16 ἐκείνοις Sauppe 26 rest. Cobet, ὦν πρότερον πᾶσαν
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα «εὐηργέτηκεν» Sauppe 29 ἀπελθεῖν p, διεξελθεῖν Cobet 30 κεφαλαίου
 Babington 31 γὰρ Babington 32 εἰς τὸ πρέπον Blass, καὶ τὸ πρέπον Jensen, κατὰ τὸ
 πρέπον Kenyon 33 πάντα καθιστάς Cobet, ἔχον παριστάς Jensen σώφροσι Blass,
 σπουδαίοις Sitzler 33–34 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελούμενος Blass, πλείω παρέχων
 ἐπιμέλειαν Jensen 34 γενέσεως καὶ ζωῆς (καὶ τροφῆς van Herwerden) Bücheler,
 ὥστε καὶ γενέσθαι σίτων αἴτιος Jensen 35 καρπῶν Blass ἀπάντων Cobet
 37 βοηθοῦσα Piccolomini 38 τῆς ἀδικίας Jensen ἀπονέμουσα Kaibel 38–39 τοῖς
 δὲ... ἅδειαν Blass

have died or more generous *achievements*. [For this reason] too 2
 especially, I [am now anxious] that my speech may appear infe-
 rior to their accomplishments. But then again *I find confidence*
 in the fact that you, the audience, will supply whatever details I
 omit. For I do not address just any audience, no, I speak before
 men who are themselves witnesses to the deeds of those men.
 Our city deserves to be praised because of its policy, for making 3
 decisions that were similar, and yet even more honorable and
 noble than its earlier accomplishments, and the dead deserve
 praise for their courage in war, for not dishonoring the virtuous
 acts of their ancestors. The general Leosthenes deserves praise
 on both counts: he initiated the policy for the city and he was
 appointed leader of the expedition for the citizens.

As for the city, there is not enough time now to survey in- 4
 dividually its earlier [accomplishments throughout] all Greece
 nor does this occasion call for a long speech. And it's not easy
 for one man alone to narrate and call to mind deeds so numer-
 ous and so great. But I will not refrain from speaking about the
 city summarily. Just as the sun goes over all the world, deter- 5
 mining the seasons appropriately and establishing [all] the right
 conditions, supplying *reasonable* and fair-minded *humans* with
 birth and [sustenance] and [crops] and *all* other things needed
 for life, in the same way too our city continuously punishes the
 wicked, [gives aid] to the just, [dispenses] equality instead of
injustice to all, and *provides* [universal safety] to the Greeks at

Ἔλλη[σιν παρασκε]υάζουσα.

40

- 6 π[ερὶ μὲν οὖν] τῶν | κοινῶ[ν ἔργων τῆς πόλ]εως | ὥσπερ
π[ροεῖπον, φρά]σαι <παρ>αλ<ει>ψω, περ[ὶ δὲ Λεωσθέ]νους
καὶ ¹²⁵ τῶν ἄ[λλων τοὺς λόγ]ους ποιήσομ[αι ἤδη. νῦν]
δὲ πόθεν | ἄρξωμ[αι λέγειν], ἢ τίνας | πρῶτον μνησθῶ;
πότε[ρ]α περ[ὶ] τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ¹³⁰ ἐκάστ<ου> διεξέλθω; ἀλλ' ⁴⁵
- 7 εὐ[η]θες εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω· | τὸ<ν> μὲν <γὰρ> ἄλλους τινὰς
ἀνθρώπους ἐγκωμιάζοντα, || οἱ πολλαχόθεν εἰς μίαν | πόλιν IV
συνεληλυθότες | οἰκοῦσι γένος ἴδιον ἕκαστος συνεισενεγκά-
μενος, ¹⁵ τούτων μὲν δεῖ κατ' ἄνδρα | γενεαλογεῖν ἕκαστον·
| περὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀνδρῶν | τοῦ<ς> λόγου<ς> ποιούμενον, ⁵⁰
οἷς | ἡ κοινὴ γένεσις ἀ[ν]τόχ[θ]οοσιν ¹¹⁰ οὖσιν ἀνυπέρβλητ[ον]
τῇν | εὐγένειαν ἔχει, πε[ρ]ί[ερ]γον | ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἰδία[ι]
- 8 τὰ] γένη | ἐγκωμιάζειν. ἀλλὰ [πε]ρὶ τῆς | παιδείας αὐτῶν
ἐπι[μνη]σθῶ, ¹¹⁵ καὶ ὥς ἐν πολλῇ σ[ωφρο]σίᾳ παιδες
ὄντ[ες ἐτρά]φησαν καὶ ἐπ<ανδρ[ε]ύθησαν, | ὅπερ εἰώθασιν ⁵⁵
[τινες ποι]εῖν; ἀλλ' οἶμαι π[άν]τας ¹²⁰ εἰδέναι ὅτι τούτου
[ἐνεκα] | τοῦ<ς> παῖδας παιδεύομ[εν,] | ἵνα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
γ[ίγνων]ται· τοὺς δὲ γεγεννημ[ένους] | ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
ἀνδρ[ας] ¹²⁵ ὑπερβάλλοντας τῇ ἀρ[ετῇ] | πρόδηλόν ἐστιν
- 9 ὅτι πα[ῖδες] | ὄντες καλῶς ἐπαιδ[ε]ύθησαν. ἀπλούστατον ⁶⁰
ο[ὗν ἢ] γοῦμαι εἶναι τὴν ἐν τ[ῷ] ¹³⁰ πολέμῳ διεξελεῖν
ἀρετήν, καὶ ὥς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γεγένη<ν>ται | τῇ
πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν.
- ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀ¹³⁵πὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· καὶ γὰρ
- 10 δίκαιον. Λεωσθένης γὰρ ὁρῶν | τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶ[σ]αν ⁶⁵
τεταπεινωμένην καὶ [ὥσπερ] ἐπτη|[χ]υῖαν, κατεφθαρμέ- V
νην ὑπὸ | [τῶν] δωροδοκούντων παρὰ Φιλ[λίπ]που καὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ | [τῶν] πατρίδων τῶν αὐτῶν, ¹⁵ [καὶ
τ]ὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡμῶν | [δεομέ]νην ἀνδρός, τὴν δ' <Ἑ>λλάδ[α
πᾶ]σαν πόλεως, ἥτις προστήν[αι] δυ[ν]ήσεται τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ⁷⁰

40 παρασκευάζουσα Babington 41 περὶ μὲν οὖν Babington κοινῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως Babington 41–42 ὥσπερ προεῖπον Blass 42 φράσαι Kayser αλιψω p, παραλείψω Müller περὶ δὲ Λεωσθένους Babington 43 ἄλλων τοὺς λόγους Sauppe 43–44 ποιήσομαι νῦν δὲ Babington, ἤδη add. Colin 44 λέγειν Cobet 45 ἐκαστῶ p; ἐκάστου Babington, cf. Dem. 60.12 46 τὸν μὲν γὰρ Schaefer ap. Babington 50 του λογου ποιουμενον p, τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος Cobet 52–53 parvula fragmenta deest; cf. comm. ad §§7–8 55 ἐπαιδεύθησαν rest. Babington, επεδε p 56 τινες ποιεῖν Jensen, ἄλλοι ποιεῖν Levi πάντας Babington 57 ἐνεκα Babington 58 γ[ινω]νται p, corr. Sauppe 61 οὖν Babington 66 ὥσπερ Kenyon 70 δυνήσεται Schäfer

its own [risk] and expense.

As for the public [deeds of the] *city* as [I said, I will re- 6
frain from detailing them]. Instead I will now focus my speech
on *Leosthenes* and the [others. Now] where should I begin [my
speech]; what should I bring up first? Should I discuss in detail
the ancestry of each of them? No, I suppose that is facile. If I 7
were praising some other people, who came from many places
to settle one city, each contributing a different heritage to the
mix, then I would need to trace the background of each, man by
man. But since I am speaking about Athenian men, who, thanks
to their common origin in their birth from the land itself, have
unsurpassable nobility, I believe that praising the ancestors in-
dividually is *beside the point*. Should I mention their education, 8
and how they were *raised* and *educated* in great *moderation*
when they were children, as [some] are accustomed to [do]?
But I suppose [everyone] knows that we educate our children
[with this goal], that they may *become* brave men. Since these
men were distinguished in wartime *virtue*, it is obvious that they
were taught well as children. I think therefore it is simplest to 9
narrate their courage in war, and how they were responsible for
many benefits to their fatherland and to the other Greeks.

I will begin first with the general, as is right. *Leosthenes* saw 10
all of Greece humbled and cowering [so to speak], destroyed by
men working against their own fatherland and accepting bribes
from Philip and Alexander. When he saw that our city *needed*
a man, and all Greece needed a city *that would be able* to take
a position as leader, for the sake of freedom he offered himself

- | [ἐπέ]δωκεν ἑαυτὸν μὲν τῇ ¹¹⁰ [πατρί]δι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τοῖς
11 Ἑλλησ[ιν] εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· καὶ ξεινικὴν μὲν δύναμιν
 «συ»στησάμενος, τῆς δὲ πολιτικῆς ἡγεμὼν καταστὰς τοὺς
 πρώτου¹¹⁵ ἀντιταξαμένους τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίᾳ
 Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ Εὐβοέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ⁷⁵
 συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἐνίκησε μα¹²⁰χόμενους ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ.
12 | ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Πύλλας καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς |
 [πα]ρόδους, δι' ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐ[πὶ τ]οὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ βάρ-
 βαροὶ ἐ²⁵[πο]ρεύθησαν, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ | [τὴν] Ἑλλάδα πορείας
 Ἀντί[π]ατρον ἐκώλυσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ | [κα]ταλαβὼν ἐν τοῖς τό- ⁸⁰
 ποις τού[το]ς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας ἐπολι³⁰[όρ]κει κατακλείσας
13 εἰς Λαμίαν· | [Θ]ετταλοὺς δὲ καὶ Φωκέας καὶ | [Α]ἰτωλοὺς
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ συμμάχους
 | ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὧν Φίλιππος ³⁵ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκόντων
 ἡγούμενοι ἐσεμνύνοντο, τούτων Λεωσθένης ἐκόντων τὴν ⁸⁵
 ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβεν. συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ | τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων
 ὧν προε[λ]⁴⁰ετο κρατῆσαι, || τῆς δὲ εἰμ[αρ]μένης οὐκ ἦν ^{VI}
14 | περιγενέ[σθαι.] δίκαιον δ' ἐστὶν μὴ μ[ό]νον | ὧν ἔπραξεν
 | Λεωσθέν[ης ἀε]ῖ χάριν ἔχειν ⁵ αὐτῷ πρ[ώτῳ] ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῆς | ὕστερον [γενομέ]νης μάχης | μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου ⁹⁰
 θάνατον | καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων ἀγ]αθῶν τῶν | ἐν τῇ στ[ρατείᾳ]
 τ[αύτῃ] συμ¹⁰βάντων [τ]ο[ῖς] Ἑλ[λησιν]· ἐπὶ | γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ
 [Λε]ωσθένους | <τε>θεῖσιν θεμελίοις οἰκοδομοῦσιν οἱ νῦν τὰς
 ὕστερον | πράξεις.
15 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολά¹⁵βη< με τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν | ⁹⁵
 [μη]δένα λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, | [ἀλλὰ] Λεωσθένη μόνον
 ἐγκω[μιάζ]ειν. συμβαίνει γὰρ | [τὸν Λε]ωσθένους ἔπαινον ²⁰
 [ἐπὶ ταῖς] μάχαις ἐγκώμιον | [τῶν ἄλ]λων πολιτῶν εἶναι·
 | τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βουλεύεσθαι | καλ[ῶς] ὁ στρα[τηγὸς] αἴτιος,
 τοῦ | δὲ νικᾶν μαχ[ο]μένους οἱ κιν²⁵δυν[εύειν ἐθ]έλοντες τοῖς ¹⁰⁰
 σώμασι[ν]· ὥστ[ε] ὅταν | ἐπαιν[ῶ] τὴν γ[ε]γονυῖαν νίκην, | ἅμα
 τ[ῇ] Λε[ωσθένους] ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ [τὴν τ]ῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν
16 ³⁰ ἐγκωμ[ιάζ]ω. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δικα[ίως] ἐπαινοῖ τῶν |
 πολιτῶν [το]ῦς ἐν τῷδε τῷ | πολέμῳ [ι τε]λευτήσαντας, οἱ
 | τὰς ἐα[ντῶν] ψυχὰς ἔδωκαν ³⁵ ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς τῶν] Ἑλλήνων ¹⁰⁵
 ἐλευθερίας, [φα]νερωτάτην ἀπόδειξιν τ[αύτ]ην ἡγούμενοι

71 ἐπέδωκεν Kayser μὲν εναυτον p, corr. Babington 73 συστησάμενος Babington
 78 παρόδους Spengel 89 αἰε Jensen πρῶτῳ Blass 90 γενομένης Babington
 ἐκείνου Müller 91 ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν Babington στρατεῖαι Babington 96 λεωσθενη
 μὲν εγκω p, corr. Sauppe 98 ἐπὶ ταῖς Babington 103 ἐγκωμιάζω Sauppe

to his *native city*, and his city to the Greeks. After he raised a 11
mercenary force and was appointed general of the city's troops,
he defeated the first opponents to the freedom of the Greeks, the
Boeotians, Macedonians, and Euboeans and their other allies,
at a battle in Boeotia.

From there he went to Thermopylae and occupied the pass, 12
through which the barbarians had marched against the Greeks
also before. He denied Antipater entry into Greece, and after the
confrontation and victory there, he shut Antipater in at Lamia
and laid siege to the place. He enlisted the Thessalians, the Pho- 13
cians and the Aetolians and all the others in that region as al-
lies, and over those whom Philip and Alexander proudly com-
manded against their will, over those Leosthenes took com-
mand according to their will. But although he was able to master
any situation he chose, he could not prevail over fate. It is right 14
not only to always thank Leosthenes *first* for what he did, but
also for the battle *which was fought* later after *his* death, and
for the [other] benefits that came out of this *campaign* for the
Greeks. For on the foundations laid down by Leosthenes the
survivors build their future achievements.

No one should assume that I take no account of the other 15
citizens, [but instead] eulogize Leosthenes alone. My praise of
Leosthenes [in] these battles is also a eulogy for the others citi-
zens. For just as good planning depends on the general, so vic-
tory in the field comes from those willing to risk their lives. As
a result, whenever I praise the victorious outcome, along with
the leadership of Leosthenes I also eulogize the virtue of the
other men. Who would not rightly praise the citizens who died 16
in the war and gave up their lives for the freedom of the Greeks?
They believed that the clearest proof of their *willingness* to pro-

- εἶναι τοῦ β[ούλ]εσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι | [τῇ]ν ἐλε[υθερ]ίαν || VII
 περιθεῖναι τὸ μαχομ[ένους] | τελευτῆσαι ὑπὲρ αὐτ[ῆς].
 17 μ[έ]γα δ' αὐτοῖς συνεβάλετ[ο εἰ]ς | τὸ προθύμως ὑπὲρ τῆς
 [Ἑλλ]άδος ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸ ἐν τῇ[ι Βοιω]τίαι τὴν μάχην 110
 τὴν π[ροτέρ]αν | γενέσθαι. ἐώρων γὰρ τὴν π[όλιν] τῶν
 Θηβαίων οἰκτ[ρῶς] ἡφα[ίστιον] ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τ[ὴν] δὲ
 ἀκρό¹⁰πολιν αὐτῆς φρουροῦμ[εν]ν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων,
 τὰ <δὲ σώματα τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐξηνδραποδισμένα, τὴν
 δὲ χώραν ἄλλους διανεμομένους, ὥστε πρὸ δ¹⁵φθαλμῶν 115
 ὁρώμενα αὐτοῖς τὰ δεινὰ ἄοκνον π[αρ]εῖχε τόλμα<ν> εἰς τὸ |
 κινδυνεύειν [πρ]οχείρως.
 18 ἀλλὰ | μὴν τὴν γε π[ερὶ] Πύλας καὶ Λαμίαν μά-
 χην γεν[ομένην] οὐχ ἦττον |²⁰ αὐτοῖς ἔνδο[ξον] γε[νέσθαι]
 συμβέβηκεν ἥς [ἐν Βοιω]τοῖς ἡγωνίσαντο, οὐ μόνον [τῷ 120
 μαχο]μένους νικᾶν | Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τοὺς σ[υμμάχους]
 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τόπῳ[ι, τῷ ἐ]νταυθοῖ γε²⁵γενῆσθαι τὴν
 μ[άχην]. ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἑλλη[νες] ἅ[παντες] | δις τοῦ
 ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς [τὴν Π]υλαίαν | θεωροὶ γενήσονται | τῶν
 ἔργων τῶν π[ερ]αγμένων |³⁰ αὐτοῖς· ἅμα γὰρ εἰς τὸ[ν 125
 τό]πον ἀθροισθήσονται καὶ τ[ῆς το]ύτων ἀρετῆς μνησθή-
 19 σονται. ο[ὐδέν] <ε>ς γὰρ πώποτε τῶν γεγονότων | οὔτε περὶ
 καλλίωνων οὔτε πρὸς ἰσ³⁵χυροτέρους οὔτε μετ' ἐλαττόνων
 | ἡγωνίσαντο, τὴν ἀρετὴν ἰσχὺν | καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν πλήθος
 ἀλλ' οὐ | τὸν πολλὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωμάτων | εἶναι κρίνοντες. 130
 καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐ⁴⁰λευθερίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσιν | κατέθεσαν,
 τὴν δ' εὐδοξίαν <τὴν> ἀπὸ | τῶν πράξεων ἴδιον στέφανον |
 τῇ πατρίδ[ι] περ[ιέ]θησαν.
 20 ἄξιον || τοίνυν συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν | συμβῆναι νομί- VIII
 ζοιμεν μὴ κατὰ τρόπον τούτων ἀγωνισαμένων. ἂρ' οὐκ ἂν 135
 ἐνὸς μὲν δεσ⁵πότην τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον ἅπασαν εἶναι,
 νόμῳ δὲ τῷ | τούτου <τῷ> τρόπῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρῆσθαι τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα; συνελόντα | δ' εἰπεῖν τὴν Μακεδόνων ὑ¹⁰περφανίαν
 καὶ μὴ τὴν τοῦ | δικαίου δύναμιν ἰσχύειν | παρ' ἐκάστοις,
 ὥστε μήτε | γυναικῶν μήτε παρθένων | μηδὲ παίδων 140

118–125 Harp. s.v. Πύλαι: ὅτι δὲ τις ἐγένετο σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων εἰς Πύλας, Ὑπερείδης τε ἐν ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ... εἰρήκασιν.

107 βούλεσθαι Babington 108 μαχομένους Sauppe 110 Ἑλλάδος Sauppe 111 προ-
 τέραν Sauppe τὴν πόλιν Sauppe 118 περὶ Cobet 120 συνεβηκει p, corr.
 Babington 122 τῶν τόπων Sauppe 127 ουδενος p, corr. Babington 132 <τὴν> Blass
 133 περιέθησαν Sauppe 140–141 sequor p et Sauppe; μήτε παίδων ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι,
 ἀλλ' > ὕβρεις ἀνεκλείπτους καθεστάναι Jensen

vide freedom to Greece was dying for it in battle. The fact that their *prior* battle took place in Boeotia contributed greatly to their eagerness to fight for *Greece*. For they saw the city of Thebes pitifully obliterated from human society, its acropolis garrisoned by the Macedonians, the bodies of the inhabitants enslaved and others parceling out the land. As a result, the presence of these terrible sights before their eyes provided them with the unwavering courage to risk their lives readily. **17**

The battle that took place near Thermopylae and Lamia proved to be no less glorious for them than that which they fought in Boeotia, not only because they defeated Antipater and his allies, but also because of the place, that is that the battle happened there. All the Greeks who arrive at the Amphictyonic meeting twice a year will be observers of the accomplishments of these men. And as they assemble at that place they will recall their virtue. None of those who came before ever fought for more noble goals or against stronger adversaries, or with fewer allies, judging that virtue was strength and that courage—but not just a great number of individual bodies—was mass. They made freedom a common possession for everyone, but they offered the glory that came from their deeds as a private crown for their fatherland. **18**

Now it is worthwhile to consider also what we suppose would have happened if they had not fought dutifully. Wouldn't the whole world be subject to one master and wouldn't Greece be forced to treat his whim as law? In short, the insolence of Macedon, and not the power of justice, would prevail everywhere. As a result, the abuse of each and every woman, maiden, **19**

20

- 21 ὕβρ<ε>ις ἂν ἐκ¹⁵λείπτους ἐκάστοις καθεστάναι. φανερόν δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ νῦν ἔ[στ]ι· θυσίας μὲν ἀνθρώποις γ[ινο]μένας ἐφορᾶν, ἀγάλμα[τα δὲ] καὶ ¹²⁰ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς τοῖ[s μὲν] θεοῖς | ἀμελῶς, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώπο[ις] ἐπιμελῶς συντελούμενα, καὶ [τ]οὺς | <τού>των οἰκ<ε>τας ὥσπερ ἥρωας ¹⁴⁵
- 22 τιμᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους. ¹²⁵ ὅπου δὲ τὰ πρὸς <τοὺς> θεοὺς ὅσια διὰ | τὴν Μακεδόνων τόλμαν ἀνλή<ν>ρηται, τί τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους | χρὴ νομίζειν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν παντελῶς καταλελύσθαι; ὥστε ¹³⁰ ὅσω<ν> δεινότερα τὰ προ<σ>δοκώμεν' ἂν γενέσθαι κρίνομεν, | τοσούτω<ν> μειζόνων ἐπαίνων | ¹⁵⁰
- 23 τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀξιούς | χρὴ νομίζειν. οὐδεμία γὰρ ¹³⁵ στρατεία τὴν <τῶν> στρατευομένων ἀρετὴν ἐνεφάνισεν μᾶλλον τῆς νῦν | γεγενημένης, ἐν ᾗ <γ>ε παρατάττεσθαι μὲν ὁσημέραι ἀναγκαῖον ᾗ<ν>, πλείους δὲ μάχας ἡγωνίσθ⁴⁰αι διὰ μιᾶς στρατ[εία]ς ἢ τοὺς || ἄλλους πάντας πληγὰς λαμβάνειν IX ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ, χειμώνων δ' ὕ[π]ερβολὰς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέ¹⁵[ρ]αν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας τοσι[αύ]τας καὶ τηλικαύτας οὕτως | [ἐγ]κρατῶς ὑπ<ο>μμε<ν>ηκέναι, | [ὥ]τε καὶ τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπὸν | [εἶν]αι φράσαι.
- 24 τὸν δὴ τοιαύτας ¹¹⁰ [κ]αρτερίας ἀόκνως ὑπομεῖναι | τοῦ<ς> ¹⁶⁰ πολίτας προτρεψάμενον | Λεωσθένη, καὶ τοὺς τῷ τοιούτῳ | στρατηγῷ προθύμως συναγωνιστὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασχόντας ¹¹⁵ ἄρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν | εὐτυχεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν | ἀπόλειψιν ἀτυχεῖς νομιστέον; | οἷτινες θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάν[α]στον δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ διὰ ¹⁶⁵ τη[ν] ¹²⁰ ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τὴν κοινὴν ἐλ[ευ]θερίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐβεβαίωσαν. | φέρει γὰρ <οὐδὲν> πᾶσαν εὐδαιμονίαν | ἄνευ τῆς αὐτονομίας. ο<ὐ> γὰρ ἀνδρὸς | ἀπειλὴν ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυρι²⁵εύειν δεῖ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, οὐδ' αἰτίαν φοβερὰν εἶναι τοῖς ἐλευθéroις | ἀλλ' ἔλεγχον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν ¹⁷⁰ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ διαβάλλουσιν τοῦ<ς> πολίτας τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσ³⁰φαλές, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νόμων πίστει |
- 26 γενέσθαι. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπάντων οὗτοι πόλινους πόνων διαδόχους

168–170 Stob. 4.23.35: τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Hyperides]: οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἀπειλὴν, ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυριεύειν δεῖ τῶν ἐλευθέρων sub capite γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα.

142 τῶν p, corr. Babington ἔστι Cobet, ἤδη Sauppe, ἔτι Kayser 145 τοὺς τούτων Cobet 146 <τοὺς> Cobet 152 <τῶν> Babington 153 τε p, γε Babington 155 πληγὰς del. Cobet 158 υπερμεμνηκεναι p, corr. Babington 167–168 <οὐδὲν> Fritzsche, φέρει γὰρ πᾶσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ αὐτονομία Jensen, Blass pos. lac. post εὐδαιμονίαν 169 εὐδαιμόνων: ἐλευθέρων Stobaeus

and even every child, would be unceasing. That is clear from **21**
 what we are compelled to do and what *exists* even now: to look
 not only upon sacrifices performed for mortals, but also upon
 statues, altars, and temples hardly celebrated in the case of the
 gods while carefully so for men and at the same time we our-
 selves are compelled to honor their slaves as heroes. When the **22**
 rites owed to the gods have been abrogated by the boldness
 of the Macedonians, what must we expect for the social cus-
 toms of human society? Wouldn't they have been completely
 destroyed? The more frightening we judge these expectations
 would be, the more praise we must believe the dead deserve.
 No campaign revealed the soldiers' virtue better than this one, **23**
 during which it was necessary to go into battle every day, to
 fight more battles in one season than the number of blows which
 all others had suffered in times gone by, and to endure harsh
 storms and such great shortages of daily supplies with so much
 self-control that it is difficult to convey even in words.

Considering that Leosthenes persuaded the citizens to en- **24**
 dure so many hardships without hesitation, and that they of-
 fered themselves eagerly as fellow fighters alongside such a
 great general, must they not be regarded as fortunate because of
 their display of virtue, rather than unfortunate because of their
 loss of life? These men acquired immortal glory for the price of
 a mortal body and with their own individual virtue they secured
 common freedom for the Greeks. [Nothing] provides complete **25**
 happiness in the absence of independence. For it is not the threat
 of a man, but rather the voice of law, that must have authority
 over people, if they are to be happy. Nor should an accusation
 cause fear among free men, but rather proof. Nor should the
 safety of the citizens depend upon those who flatter their mas-
 ters and slander their fellow citizens, but rather upon faith in the
 law. For all these reasons they performed labor after labor and **26**

- ποιούμενοι | καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν κινδύνους τοῦ<ς> εἰς | τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον φόβους τῶν πολιτῶν ¹³⁵ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ¹⁷⁵
παραιρούμενοι τὸ | ζῆν ἀνήλωσαν εἰς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους | καλῶς
27 ζῆν. διὰ τούτους πατέρες | ἔνδοξοι, μητέρες περίβλε<π>τοι τοῖς
| πολίταις γεγόνασι, ἀδελφαὶ γάμων ¹⁴⁰ τῶν προσηκόντων
ἐννόμως τετυλχῆκασι καὶ τεύξονται, παῖδες ἐφόιδιον εἰς τὴν
πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐ[ῦνοι]||αν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀπολωλότῳ[ν] || X
ἀρετῇ—οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν | τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος τυλχεῖν τοὺς
οὕτως ὑπὲρ | καλῶν τὸ<ν> βίον ἐκλιπόν¹⁵τας—ἀλλὰ τῶν
τὸ ζῆν | <εἰς αἰώ[ν]ιον τάξιν μετῆλλα[χό]των ἔξουσιν.
28 | εἰ γὰρ [ό τοῖ]ς ἄλλοις ὦν | ἀνιαρ[ότ]ατος θάνατος ¹¹⁰
τούτοις ἀρχηγὸς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέγονε, πῶς τούτους ¹⁸⁵
οὐ<κ> εὐτυχεῖς κρίνειν δίκαιον, | ἢ πῶς ἐκλεοιπέναι ¹¹⁵ τὸν
βίον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενῆσθαι καλλίῳ | γένεσιν τῆς
πρώτης ὑπαρξάσης; τότε μὲν | γὰρ παῖδες ὄντες ἄφρο²⁰νες
29 ἦσαν, νῦν δ' ἄνδρες | ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασι· καὶ | τότε μὲν <ἐν>
πολλῶ<ν> χρόνῳ καὶ διὰ πολλῶν | κινδύνων τὴν ἀρετῇ ¹²⁵ ¹⁹⁰
ἀπέδειξαν, νῦν δ' ἀπὸ | ταύτης †αξαθαι γνωρίζιμους πᾶσι καὶ
μνημοινευτοὺς διὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν γεγενῆσθαι.
30 τίς <γὰρ> κα<ν>ρὸς ἐν ¹³⁰ ᾧ τῆς τούτων ἀρετῆς οὐ | μνη-
μονεύσομεν; τίς τόλπος ἐν ᾧ<ν> ζήλου καὶ τῶν | ἐντιμοτά-
των ἐπαίνων | τυγχάνοντας οὐκ ὀψόμ[ε]||³⁵θα; πότερον οὐκ ¹⁹⁵
ἐν τοῖς τῆς | πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς; ἀλλὰ τὰ | διὰ τούτους γεγονότα
τ[ίν]ας | ἄλλους ἢ τούτους ἐπαινεῖσθαι | καὶ μνήμης τυγχά-
νειν ποι⁴⁰ήσας; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις | εὐπραξίαις; ἀλλ' ἐν
31 τῇ<ν> τούτων | ἀρετῇ βεβαίως αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσομεν. παρὰ
ποιά<ν> δὲ τῶν | ἡλικιῶν οὐ μακαριστοὶ || γενήσονται XI
πα||ρὰ τοῖς [. ἄ]||φοβον α[.] | βίον κα[.
..... ..] ¹⁵ γεγενῆσ[θαι]] | διὰ τούτ[ους]; ἢ παρὰ τοῖς]
| ἡλικιώτ[αις];] | τελευτη[.] | καλῶς [.
32] ¹¹⁰ παρὰ πολ[λὸν]]||αι γέγον[εν]; ἢ παρὰ τοῖς]

180 εὔνοϊαν Cobet 183 εἰς αἰώνιον Sauppe 184 ὁ τοῖς Cobet ἀνιαρότατος
Babington 189–190 πολλῶν χρονῳ p, corr. Babington 191–192 αξαθαι p post
corr., αξαθην p ante corr.; ὑπάρχει εὐθὺς Cobet, ἀρξασθαι (aut ἀξιοθῆναι) . . . γέγονε
Babington 193 <γὰρ> Cobet 200–201 γενήσονται οὗτοι; ἢ παρὰ Sauppe 201 παρὰ
τοῖς γέρουσιν Babington 201–202 ἀλλ' ἄφοβον αὐτοῖς τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καὶ εὐδαίμονα
γεγενῆσθαι νομίζουσα διὰ τούτους Jensen 202–203 ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἡλικιώταις Sauppe
203–204 οἷς ἐκείνων ἢ τελευτῇ φθόνον ἐμβέβληκε καλῶς, ὡς ἐπιφανεστάτων παρὰ
πολὺ τῇ αὐτῶν ἀνδρείᾳ γεγονότων Radermacher 204–205 ἢ παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις
Sauppe

with their daily risks they lessened the fears for all time of the citizens and the Greeks. They gave up their lives so that others could live well. Because of them their fathers have become famous and their mothers are admired among the citizens. Their sisters have justly entered into suitable marriages according to the law and will continue to do so. The children of these men who have died—no, it is not right to use that term for men who lost their lives fighting on behalf of such a noble cause—rather, of men who have exchanged life for a perpetual position, will have their virtue as an asset for the good will of the people. If death, which is most grievous for others, has been the foundation of great advantages for them, how can we not judge them fortunate, and how can we say that they have lost their lives, instead of saying that they have been born anew in a better birth than their first? Then they were senseless children, but now they have become brave men. And then they displayed their virtue over a long period of time and amid many perils, but now as a result of this [—] become known to everyone and remembered for their courage.

On what occasion will we not recall the virtue of these men? In what place will we not see them as the object of pride and esteemed praise? Will they not come to mind if the city does well? The things that were accomplished because of them will cause what other men than these to be praised and remembered? Perhaps they won't be remembered by those who are individually prosperous? Well, we will safely enjoy those successes thanks to the virtue of these men. In the eyes of what generation will they not be blessed? [—] among the [—] *fearless* [—] life [—] to have become [—] because of *them*? [— among] their peers? [—] death [—] nobly [—] by *far* [—] has [— among the] youth [—] not the [—] *will be eager*

- | νεωτέρ[ις] | τα οὐ τὸν [.....] | σιν αὐτ[.....] 205
 σπου] |¹⁵ δάσουσιν [..... πα] | ράδειγμ[α] | ου τὴν
 ἀρ[ετήν] | πασι οὐκ [.....] | ζειν αὐ[τούς] |²⁰ μη
33 ἢ τίνε[s] | φοι λε[.....] | Ἑλλην[.....] |
 | τῶν πε[.....] | παρὰ προ[.....] |²⁵ Φρυγῶν κ[.....]
 ... στρα] | τείας ἐγ[κωμι] | δὲ τῆς ἐλ[.....] | | τατοῖς 210
34 ε[.....] | ἅπασιν κα[ὶ λόγοις καὶ ὤ] |³⁰ δαῖς ἐπα[.....]
 ... | | τερα γὰρ ε[.....] | | περὶ Λεωσ[θένους] | | καὶ τῶν
 τ[.....] | ἐν τῷ πολ[έμῳ] |³⁵ ἡδονῆς ἐν[εκεν]
 ... | | ουσιν τὰς τ[οιαύτας καρ] | | τερίας, τί γε[.....] Ἑλ[λησιν
 ἡδιον] | τὴν ἐλευθερί[αν] |⁴⁰ σάντων ἀ[.....] 215
 | | νων; εἰ δὲ [ὠφελείας ἐνε] | | κεν ἡ τοια[.....] || γίνε- XII
 ται, τίς ἂν λόγος | ὠφελήσειεν μᾶλλον | τὰς τῶν ἀκουσόντων
 | ψυχὰς τοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν |⁵ ἐγκωμιάσοντος καὶ τοὺς | ἀγαθοὺς
 ἀνδρας;
35 ἀλλὰ μὴν | ὅτι παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς λο[κίπο]ις πᾶσιν 220
 εὐδοκίμειν | αὐτοὺς ἀναγκαῖον, ἐκ τοῦ¹⁰ τῶν φανερόν ἐστιν·
 ἐν | Ἄιδου δὲ λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, τίνες οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα
 δεξιωσόμενοι τὸν τοῦ¹⁵ τῶν. ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν κοῖόμεθα |¹⁵ ὅρ' ἂν
 Λεωσθένη δεξιουμένους καὶ θανμάζοντας | τῶν κήμιθέων
 καλῶν μένων | τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν | στρατεύσαντ[α]s, ὧν 225
 |²⁰ οὗτος ἀδελφὰς π[ρ]άξεις | ἐνστησάμενος τοσοῦτον |
 [δ]ιήνεγκε, ὥστε οἱ μὲν | μετὰ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος | [μ]ίαν
 πόλιν εἶλον, ὁ δὲ |²⁵ μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παλ[τ]ρίδος μόνης

205 νεωτέροις καὶ παισίν; ἔπειτα οὐ τὸν θάνατον ζηλώσουσιν αὐτῶν Blass
 205–206 καὶ αὐτοὶ σπουδάσουσιν μιμῆσθαι Blass 206–207 εἰ γὰρ παράδειγμα
 ἐκείνοις τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀρετὴν καταλελοίπασιν Jensen 207 οὐκ ἀθανάτωι δεῖ νομίζειν
 αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῇ μνήμῃ Jensen 208–210 ἢ τίνες ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι
 λείπονται ποτε κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πασῶν εὐλογιῶν παρὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων
 ἐκείνοις; παρὰ τίσι δ' οὐ μᾶλλον αὐτὰ τῆς Φρυγῶν κρατησάσης στρατείας
 ἐγκωμιασθήσεται; Colin 210–211 πανταχοῦ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξέσται ταῦτα
 τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἅπασιν ... ἐπαινέσθαι Kenyon 211 καὶ λόγοις καὶ ὠδαῖς
 Cobet 212–213 δι' ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἐξέσται αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ Λεωσθένους ὑμνεῖν καὶ
 τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ Colin 213–216 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ἔνεκεν
 ἐγκωμιάσουσιν τὰς τηλικαύτας καρτερίας, τί γένοιτ' ἂν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡδιον ἢ
 ἔπαινος τῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρασκευασάντων ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων; Cobet
 216 εἰ δὲ ὠφελείας ἔνεκεν Babington ἡ τοιαύτη μνήμη αὐτὴ ἢ τοιαύτη ἀνάμνησις
 Cobet 220 λογοῖς p, emend. Babington 223 ὥσομεθα p, corr. Shilleto 223–224 ὅταν
 λ. p (νλ in rasura), corr. Shilleto 224–225 δηγορμενων καλουμενου p, ἡμιθέων
 καλουμένων Cobet 225 ἐπὶ στρ' ἄτειαν στρασαντ[.]c p, emend. Babington

[--] example [--] the *virtue* [--], not [--] to [--] *them* [--]. Who [--] Greek [--] of the things [--] among [--] **33**
of the Phrygians [--] *praise the campaign* [--] but of the [--]
to all [with speeches and] *songs to praise* [--] Both [--] **34**
about Leosthenes [--] and of those [--] in war [--] *for the*
sake of pleasure [--] [such great] *feats of daring* [--] what
would be sweeter for *the Greeks* [than --] of those [--] free-
dom [--]? If such a [--] was [motivated by advantage], what
speech would confer more advantage on the souls of those who
will hear it than one which eulogizes virtue and brave men?

And, while it is clear from these points that they must be **35**
honored by us and all who come after us, it's worthwhile to
consider who will welcome their leader in Hades. Don't we
suppose that we would see some of the so-called [demi-gods],
the ones who fought in the struggle against *Troy*, welcoming
and admiring Leosthenes? Although he had accomplished
deeds akin to theirs, he greatly surpassed them, since they,
with the help of all Greece, captured only one city, while he,
with the help of his native city alone, brought down the entire

- πᾶσαν | [τ]ὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ | [τ]ῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχουσαν
36 δὴ[ν]αμιν ἑταπείνωσεν. |³⁰ [κ]ἀκείνοι μὲν ἔνεκα | [μ]ιᾶς ²³⁰
 γυναικὸς ὑβρισθεῖ[σ]ης ἤμυναν, ὁ δὲ παλ[σ]ῶν τῶν Ἑλλη-
 νίδων | [τ]ὰς ἐπιφερόμενας |³⁵ [ὑ]βρεις ἐκώλυσεν μελ[τὰ]
 τῶν συνθαπτομέ[ν]ων νῦν αὐτῷ ἀνδρῶν. | [τ]ῶν <δὲ>
37 μετ' ἐκείνους μὲν | [γ]εγενημένων, ἄξια |⁴⁰ [δ]ὲ τῆς ἐκείνων
 ἀρε[τ]ῆς διαπεπραγμένων, | [λ]έγω δὴ τοὺς περὶ Μιλιτιάδην ²³⁵
 καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ τὴν Ἑλλάδ[α] | XIII
 ἐλευθερώσαντες ἔντιμον μὲν τὴν πατρίδα κατέστησαν,
38 ἐν[δ]οξον <δὲ> τὸν αὐτῶν βίον | <ἐ>ποίησαν, ὦν οὗτος
 τοσούτου ὑπερέσχει ἀνδρεία καὶ φρονήσει, ὅσιν οἱ μὲν
 ἐπελθοῦσαν |¹⁰ τῇ<ν> τῶν βαρβάρων δύναμιν ἡμύναντο, ὁ δὲ ²⁴⁰
 μῆδ' ἐπελθεῖν ἐποίησεν. | κακείνοι μὲν ἐν τῇ<ν> οἰκείαι τοὺς
 ἐχθ<ρ>οὺς ἐπείδον |¹⁵ ἀγωνιζομένους, οὗτος | δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν περιεγένετο τῶν ἀντιπάλων.
39 | οἶμαι δὲ καὶ <τοὺς> τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίαν τῷ
 δήμῳ βε²⁰βαιότατα ἐνδείξαμένους, | λέγω δὲ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ ²⁴⁵
 Ἀριστογείτονα, οὐθέν<α>ς οὕτως | αὐτοῖς οἰκεί<οτερ>ους
 {ὕμιν} | εἶναι νομίζειν ὥς Λεωσ²⁵θέ<ν>η καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ
 συναγωνισαμένους, οὐδὲ ἔστιν οἷς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τούτοις |
 πλησιάσειαν ἐν Ἄιδου. εἰκότ<ως>. | οὐκ ἐλάττω γὰρ ἐκείνων
 ἔργα |³⁰ διεπράξαντο, ἀλλ' εἰ δέον εἰπεῖν | καὶ μείζω. οἱ μὲν ²⁵⁰
 γὰρ τοὺς | τῆς πατρίδος τυράννους κατέλυσαν, οὗτοι δὲ
40 τοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. ὦ καλῆς μὲν |³⁵ καὶ παραδόξου
 τόλμης τῆς | πραχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν | ἀνδρῶν, ἐνδό-
 ξου δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς προαιρέσεως | ἥς προείλοντο,
 ὑπερβαλ⁴⁰λούσης δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς ²⁵⁵
 κινδύνοις, | ἦν οὗτοι παρασχόμενοι εἰς | τὴν κοινὴν ἐλευθερίαν
 | τῶν Ἑλλήνων [– –]

Fragment 2

- 41** χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντας πάθεσι
 παραμυθεῖσθαι· τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοι-

258–277 Stob. 4.56.36

233 <δὲ> Kayser 238 <δὲ> Blass 244 <τοὺς> Babington 246–247 ουθενους ουτως
 αυτοις οικειοτερους υμειν ειναι p, corr. Blass, οὐθέν<ας> οὕτως αὐτοῖς οἰκείους ἂν
 Sauppe, οὐδαμῶς αὐτοὺς οικειοτέρους (οἰκείους ἐτέρους Post) ὑμῖν Kenyon, οὐθέν<ας>
 οὕτως αὐτοῖς οἰκείους οὐδαμῶς ἂν Colin

ruling power of Europe and Asia. They came to the defense of one women who had been violated, but he, together with these men now being buried with him, prevented the violence that threatened all the women of Greece. As for those who lived after these men, whose accomplishments were worthy of their ancestors' virtue, I mean those who fought with Miltiades and Themistocles and the rest, the ones who by freeing Greece conferred honor on their native city, and who made their own lives glorious, this man greatly excelled them in courage and cunning, since they warded off the barbarian force when it was already invading, while he did not allow it even to enter. Furthermore, they looked upon the enemy fighting on the home front, but he prevailed over his adversaries on their own ground.

I think that even those two who showed their mutual friendship most firmly to the people, I mean Harmodius and Aristogiton, consider *nobody to be as closely related to them* as Leosthenes and his fellow combatants. There are not any others with whom they would prefer to associate in Hades. Rightly so, since Leosthenes and his men achieved no less than those two. In fact, if it must be said, these men attained even greater achievements. Those two destroyed the tyrants of their native city, but these men destroyed the tyrants of all Greece. How noble and unbelievable was the bravery exercised by these men, how glorious and magnificent was the choice which they made, how excellent was their virtue and courage in danger, which they offered for the common freedom of the Greeks! [– –]

Fragment 2

It is perhaps difficult to console those who are so bereaved. Your grief is not eased by a speech or a custom. Instead your individ-

- μίζεται, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὸν τελευτή- 260
 σαντα <τὸν> ὀρισμὸν ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρή θαρρεῖν
 καὶ τῆς λύπης παραιρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ μεμνήσθαι
 μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
 42 ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλελοίπασιν. <εἰ> γὰρ θρήνων ἄξια πεπόνθα-
 σιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποιήκασιν. εἰ δὲ γήρως θνητοῦ 265
 μὴ μετέσχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εἰλήφασιν εὐδαίμονές
 τε γεγόνασι κατὰ πάντα. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄπαιδες τε-
 τελευτήκασιν, οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαινοι παῖδες αὐτῶν
 ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται. ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας καταλελοίπασιν, ἡ τῆς πα-
 43 τρίδος εὐνοια ἐπίτροπος αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων καταστήσεται. 270
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὅμοιον τῷ μὴ γε-
 νέσθαι, ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύπης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 τῶν προσπιπτόντων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον· εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἰ-
 σθησις ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ ἐπιμέλεια παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου, ὥσπερ
 ὑπολαμβάνομεν, <εἰκὸς> τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυ- 275
 ομέναις βοηθήσαντας πλείστης ἐπιμελείας <καὶ κηδεμονίας>
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τυγχάνειν.

Fragmentum dubium

τὸν ἀγήρατον χρόνον

273–277 εἰ δ' ἔστιν . . . τυγχάνειν Maximus 932c, non recte attribut. ad Ἀπολλώνιον
 278 Poll. 2.14 = Hyp. fr. 221: Ὑπερείδης [εἵρηκε] δὲ τὸν ἀγήρατον χρόνον.

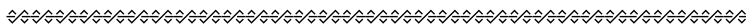
261 <τὸν> Sauppe 264 εἰ Leopardi, οὐ codd. 274 ἐπιμέλεια τῶν οἰχομένων παρὰ
 Maximus 275 εἰκὸς Toup et Cobet, εἶναι aut εἶη codd. 276 ἐπιμελείας καὶ κηδεμονίας:
 [Fuhr] sequens Plut. *Thes.* 33; ἐπιμελείας aut εὐδαιμονίας aut ἐπιμελείας καὶ codd.
 277 δαιμονίου aut δαίμονος codd.

ual nature and your love for the deceased defines the limits of
 your grief. Even so, you must be courageous and control your
 grief as much as you can, and think not only of their death, but
 also of the virtue which they have left behind. Although their **42**
 sufferings are worthy of lamentations, their deeds are worthy of
 great praises. Although they did not live to see old age in this
 life, they have gained ageless glory and have become blessed in
 every respect. For those who died without children, the praise
 of the Greeks will serve as immortal offspring. As for those
 who left behind children, the good will of their native city will
 act as a guardian for them. In addition, if death is similar to not **43**
 existing, then they are released from sicknesses and suffering
 and the other things which trouble mortal lives. If there is con-
 sciousness in Hades and the dead enjoy the care of the divine, as
 we suppose, then it is likely that those who defended the honors
 of the gods when they were under attack will receive the utmost
 attention and care from the divinity.

Possible Fragment

ageless time

6. THE FUNERAL ORATION



INTRODUCTION

In 322 Hyperides was selected to deliver the funeral oration over the Athenian dead in the Lamian War. He was the natural choice: Demosthenes was still in exile; Demades, who had earlier been convicted of accepting bribes from Harpalus and later fined for proposing the deification of Alexander, was disenfranchised; and Phocion, who still advocated peace, had no credibility. Hyperides thus emerged not only as the leading politician in Athens but as a forceful advocate of resistance; he was also behind the choice of Leosthenes to lead that resistance against Macedon.

Leosthenes, who had served in Alexander's army in Asia as one of the commanders of the Greek mercenaries, organized the return of these mercenaries to Taenarum when they were disbanded. There he waited for his moment, which came with the death of Alexander in 323. With eight thousand mercenaries, financed by Harpalus' silver, he headed north and occupied Thermopylae, the pass into central Greece. Initially he met with success. He defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia, and when Antipater moved south into Thessaly, he scored a second victory and succeeded in shutting up Antipater in the mountain stronghold of Lamia, just north of Thermopylae. But the siege dragged on through the winter, and during the operations, Leosthenes was killed. His successor Antiphilus was forced to lift the siege, but in the battle that followed, the Greeks were again victorious, and Antipater withdrew to Macedonia to await the help of his fellow Macedonian commander Craterus. Once he arrived, Antipater again descended in Thessaly, and in August of 322 at Crannon, he defeated the Greeks in the field. So ended the Athenian and Greek hopes of freedom.

In the spring of 322, before the defeat at Crannon, the Athenians

honored those who had died at Lamia with a public funeral. It was a long-standing tradition (see Thuc. 2.34.1), unique to Athens (Dem. 20.141), that a citizen of distinction would deliver an oration over the dead who had fallen in battle during the previous year. As a conventional form, the funeral oration had a set structure that included praise, consolation, and exhortation. The tribute to the dead often became a tribute to the glorious deeds of Athens' past, and in other examples of the genre (e.g., Lys. 2), the speaker would pass quickly over the actual events that occasioned his speech and dwell at length on Athens' heroic past or the glory of the city; such is the case in the best known example of the genre, Pericles' funeral oration (Thuc. 2.35–46).

Hyperides departs significantly from convention; though he praises the city (3–5) and consoles the living (41–43), he concentrates almost exclusively on recent events and in particular on Leosthenes. He will not recount in detail Athens' past accomplishments but will reserve his words for Leosthenes and his companions (6). Whatever mythological events (Troy) or Athenian heroes of the past (Miltiades, Themistocles, Harmodius and Aristogeiton) he does mention, redound not to the praise of Athens but to the praise of Leosthenes. These heroes will greet him with awe in Hades, a general who not only matched but even outdid their heroic exploits. The attention that Hyperides pays to Leosthenes and the others who died at Lamia adds a certain immediacy and sincerity to his words that cannot be found in other orations of this type (Kennedy 1963: 165). The sincerity was no doubt genuine; he was praising a friend and fellow compatriot who died in a cause he deeply believed in. It is no surprise that Hyperides' funeral oration was highly regarded in antiquity.

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6. THE FUNERAL ORATION

[1] The words to be delivered over this grave, declaring the bravery of the general Leosthenes and the other men who have died with him in the war, have as witness time itself, which preserves a record of their

deeds to their glory. For no man we know or <have heard about> in all of history has ever seen resolve more noble than this or men more courageous than those who have died or deeds more magnificent. [2] For this reason, what I fear most today is that my speech will fail to measure up to their deeds. However, I do take heart again in this thought, that what I leave out you who hear me will supply, for my words will not be addressed to a random crowd but to men who witnessed their deeds.

[3] Our city deserves praise for the policy it chose, a policy that matched and even surpassed the proud and noble deeds it accomplished in the past; those who have died also deserve praise for their bravery in battle, bravery that did not disgrace the valor of their ancestors; and finally the general Leosthenes deserves praise on both counts, for he led the city to adopt the policy and was appointed commander of our citizens for the expedition.

[4] As for our city, I will not recount in detail every previous benefit that it has bestowed on all of Greece; I do not have enough time. This is not the appropriate moment to make a long speech, and it would not be easy for one man to go through and remember so many great deeds. But I will not hesitate to summarize its main accomplishments.

[5] As the sun covers the whole of the inhabited earth, dividing the seasons appropriately, setting everything in harmonious order and looking after men who are wise and good, providing for their birth and upbringing, for the fruits of their labor and for all the other necessities of life, so too does our city never fail to punish the wicked, help the just, <dispense> equality to all in place of injustice, and at its own personal <risk> and expense ensure the <common security> of Greece.

[6] As I said before, I will leave untold the collective deeds of our city and direct my words to the feats of Leosthenes and his companions. So, where should I begin, and what should I mention first? Should I trace the ancestry of each man? I suspect that would be foolish. [7] If one is praising different men who have come together from many different places to live in one city, each contributing his own lineage, one has to trace the separate ancestry of each man. But if he is speaking of Athenians who are indigenous to the land and share a common ancestry of unsurpassed nobility, it is superfluous, I think, to praise the ancestry of each man. [8] Well, should I mention their education and

how as children they were reared and educated with strict discipline,¹ as some usually do? But I think you all know that we educate our children in order to make them brave men, and it is obvious that men who showed exceptional courage in the war were well educated as children. [9] So I think, the simplest thing is to recount their courage in battle and show how many benefits they have bestowed on their country and the rest of Greece. I will begin first with the general, as I should.

[10] Leosthenes saw that all of Greece was on its knees and seemed to be cowering, corrupted by men who were bribed by Philip and Alexander to work against their own countries. He realized that our city needed a man, just as Greece needed a city, that could assume leadership, so he gave himself to his country and his city to Greece for the sake of freedom. [11] He raised a mercenary force, took command of the Athenian army, and in a battle in Boeotia defeated those who from the beginning opposed Greek freedom, the Boeotians, the Macedonians, the Euboeans, and their allies. [12] From there he reached Thermopylae² and occupied the pass through which the barbarians once marched to attack the Greeks. He checked Antipater's advance into Greece and, surprising him in that area, defeated him in battle, forced him to take refuge in Lamia,³ and began a siege of the city. [13] He made allies of the Thessalians, the Phocians, the Aetolians, and all the others in the region. Philip and Alexander prided themselves in commanding men who were unwilling to serve; Leosthenes took command of the same men, who were ready and willing. He managed to accomplished the goals he set for himself, but he could not overcome fate. [14] It is right to express our gratitude to Leosthenes first and foremost for the deeds he achieved in his lifetime but also for the battle that was fought after his death and for all the

¹ The term here is *sōphrosunē*, which carried the idea of both discipline, essential for a good soldier, and moderation, essential for a good citizen.

² Thermopylae ("the Gates") was the pass from Thessaly into Locris north of Boeotia. It was here in 480 that the Spartans under the command of Leonidas bravely but futilely resisted the Persian advance led by Xerxes. See Herod. 7.201–222.

³ Lamia lay in Thessaly, some twenty kilometers (about twelve miles) north of Thermopylae.

other benefits the Greeks derived from that campaign. For it is on the foundations laid by Leosthenes that men today build their future successes.

[15] Let no one think I am not saying anything about the other citizens and praising only Leosthenes. In fact, to praise Leosthenes for these battles is also to pay tribute to the rest of the citizens. A general may be responsible for a well-devised strategy, but victory in battle depends on those willing to risk their lives. So when I praise the victory we won, I am praising both Leosthenes' leadership and the bravery of the others at the same time. [16] For who would not have good reason to praise those citizens who died in this war, who gave their lives for the sake of Greek freedom, and who believed that the clearest proof of their desire to preserve freedom for Greece was to die fighting on its behalf?

[17] An important event that contributed to their eagerness to fight for Greece was the battle that took place earlier in Boeotia. They saw that the city of Thebes had been wretchedly destroyed into oblivion, the acropolis garrisoned by Macedonians, the inhabitants reduced to slavery, and their land parceled out to others.⁴ These terrible sights that they saw with their own eyes gave them an undaunted courage to face danger readily. [18] But the battle that took place near Thermopylae and Lamia has proven no less glorious for them than when they fought in Boeotia, not only because they defeated Antipater and his allies in battle but also because the battle was located there. For all the Greeks who gather twice a year for the Amphictyonic Council⁵ will see the deeds they accomplished, and as soon as they gather at that spot, they will recall their courage. [19] Never did men fight for a more noble prize against stronger enemies with fewer allies. They believed there was strength in courage and superiority in bravery, not in a large number of bodies. They secured freedom for all Greece to share in,

⁴Thebes was destroyed by Alexander in 335.

⁵The various ethnic groups of Greece (Ionians, Dorians, Phocians, etc.) sent representatives to the Amphictyonic Council, which was in charge of the oracle at Delphi, the Pythian games, the finances of the sanctuary, and the maintenance of the temple. Once a year it met at Anthela near Thermopylae; the other time, in Delphi, which was some thirty kilometers (about eighteen miles) south of Thermopylae.

but the glory of their deeds is a crown they won for our country alone.

[20] Now then, it is worth considering, what do we think would have happened, if these men had not fought as duty required? Would not the whole inhabited world be subject to a single master? And would not Greece be forced to regard his capricious behavior as law? In short, Macedonian arrogance and not the power of justice would prevail among all people; no woman, no girl, no child would be safe from the endless violations forced on each and every one of them. [21] That is clear from what we have been forced to endure up to now: sacrifices are made to men, and while statues, altars, and temples to the gods are neglected, those to men are carefully cultivated.⁶ We ourselves are forced to honor their slaves as heroes.⁷ [22] When respect for the gods has been destroyed by Macedonian arrogance, what can we expect would have happened to human respect? Would it not have been utterly destroyed? The more frightening we think the consequences would have been, the greater, we must realize, is the praise those who have died deserve.

[23] No campaign displayed the courage of its soldiers more than this last one. Daily they were forced to prepare for battle, to fight more engagements on a single campaign than the blows all other soldiers have endured in the past, to withstand with such resolve the extremes of winter and the lack of daily necessities that were so great and so severe that it is difficult to describe in words. [24] Such were the hardships that Leosthenes urged his fellow citizens to endure without flinching, and they themselves readily offered to fight alongside such a great general. Should we not consider it their good fortune that they displayed their courage rather than their bad fortune that they lost their lives? For the price of their mortal bodies they gained immortal glory, and by their personal courage they secured universal freedom

⁶Alexander had demanded divine honors for himself. See 5.31 and Din. 1.94.

⁷Hephaestion, a Macedonian noble who had been Alexander's closest friend, suddenly died in 324. Alexander staged an extravagant funeral in honor of his friend and decreed at the end that all should worship him as a god. Apparently, heroic cults were established by his command both in the East and in Athens. See Diodorus Siculus 17.115.6.

for the Greeks. [25] There cannot be complete happiness without independence. For men to be happy they must be ruled by the voice of law, not the threats of a man; free men must not be frightened by accusation, only by proof of guilt; and the safety of our citizens must not depend on men who flatter their masters and slander our citizens but on our confidence in the law. [26] To defend all of this, these men endured toil upon toil; and by facing dangers daily, they removed for all time the fears that gripped our citizens and the Greeks. They gave their lives so others could live well.

[27] Thanks to them, their fathers are honored, their mothers are admired by the citizens, their sisters have found and will find legitimate marriages worthy of them, and their children will find that their courage provides access to the goodwill of the people. Indeed, they have not really died, for it is not right to call it "death" when they have given their lives for such a noble cause but have just exchanged this life for an eternal post. [28] If death, which is so distressing to others, has been the source of great benefits for them, it is surely right to consider them fortunate, for they have not left life, but rather they have been born again, in a birth more noble than the first. [29] Then, they were just senseless children, but now, they have been born as courageous men. Then, it was only after the long passage of time and in the face of many dangers that they revealed their courage, but now, owing to this new birth, they can quickly become well known to all and renown for their bravery.

[30] Is there any time that is not right to remember their valor? Is there any place where we will not see them receive the highest honor and praise? What about when the city prospers? Will the benefits we received because of these men bring praise and renown to anyone else but them? What about in times of personal successes? Only their courage will allow us to enjoy our successes securely. [31] What generation will not regard them as most blessed? Our elders? Certainly, for they will realize that the rest of their lives will be happy and free of fear because of these men. Their peers? Certainly, since their death has instilled a noble desire to emulate men who achieved through their own courage a fame that is by far the most distinguished. [32] The younger men and the boys? Surely they will envy their death and be eager to imitate them. If they have left these men their courage as an example for their own lives, must we not acknowledge that they have

achieved immortal fame? [33] What <poets and philosophers will lack words or songs to celebrate their deeds to> the Greeks? Who will not praise this expedition even more than the one that conquered the Phrygians?⁸ Where in Greece will they ever stop commemorating their exploits in word and song for future generations? [34] On two counts they should praise Leosthenes and those who died in the war. If men take pleasure in recalling such displays of courage, what could bring more pleasure to the Greeks than praising those who won them their freedom from the Macedonians? If, on the other hand, the aim of such recollections is profit, what speech could profit the hearts of its listeners more than the praise of courage and courageous men?

[35] That they should be honored by us and by all others is perfectly clear from what I have said. But it is also worth considering who will be in Hades to greet the leader of these men? Can you not imagine that we would see the so-called demigods, those who sailed to Troy, greeting Leosthenes and looking on him with wonder? Though he performed the same kind of deeds as they, he far surpassed them; for with the help of all Greece they took one city, while he with only his country to help⁹ humbled completely the power that controlled Europe and Asia. [36] They fought for one violated woman, but he, with the help of these men now buried by his side, prevented the violation that threatened all Greek women. [37] There were also those born after the famous heroes of Troy whose exploits matched their courage: I mean Miltiades and Themistocles¹⁰ and their companions, and others who liberated Greece, and brought honor to their country and glory to their lives. [38] Leosthenes so surpassed these in courage and foresight that he actually prevented the invasion of a barbarian force, whereas they only defended against it. They saw the enemy fighting in their country, whereas he defeated the enemy in its own territory.

⁸That is, the expedition to Troy celebrated by Homer.

⁹Hyperides fails to mention the foreign mercenaries Leosthenes had in his army (see 6.11).

¹⁰Miltiades was the Athenian general credited with defeating the Persian army at Marathon in 490. In 480 Themistocles, by threatening to withdraw the Athenian fleet, convinced the other Greek commanders to stand and face the Persian navy in the narrows of Salamis; the Greek victory that followed led to Xerxes' withdrawal from Greece. See Herod. 6.108–117, 8.70–97.

[39] I think even these men who demonstrated to the people most clearly their friendship for one another, I mean Harmodius and Aristogeiton,¹¹ would agree that none are so nearly at the same level as Leosthenes and his companions in arms; nor is there anyone with whom they would rather associate in Hades than with these men. Quite rightly. For the exploits of these men were not inferior to theirs, but if we need say it, even greater. They deposed the tyrants in their own country, whereas these men deposed the tyrants of all Greece.

[40] How noble and incredible was the courage shown by these men here; how glorious and magnificent the choice they made; how surpassing the valor and bravery in the face of dangers that they displayed for the collective freedom of the Greeks . . .¹²

[41] Perhaps it is difficult to console those who are overwhelmed by such grief as this. Sorrows are not soothed by words and law, but each one's nature and feelings of affection for the deceased set the limit to his grief. Nonetheless we must take heart, restrict our grief to what is acceptable, and remember not only the death of those who are gone but also the example of courage they have left us. [42] Though their suffering deserves mourning, their exploits deserve great praise. Though they will not reach old age in their mortal lives, still they have won a fame that is ageless and are counted blessed in every way. For those who have died childless, the praises of the Greeks will be their immortal children. For those who left behind children, the goodwill of their country will become their children's guardian. [43] Moreover, if death is like not existing, they are free from sickness and grief and everything else that besets human life. But if we are conscious in Hades and come under the care of some deity, as we believe, it is probable that those who defended the honors of the gods that were threatened with destruction will receive the fullest care and attention from the deity¹³ . . .

¹¹ See 2.3n.

¹² The papyrus ends here. The epilogue (41–43) given below is preserved only by the late author Stobaeus.

¹³ There is a clear echo of Plato's *Apology* 40c–41d here.

